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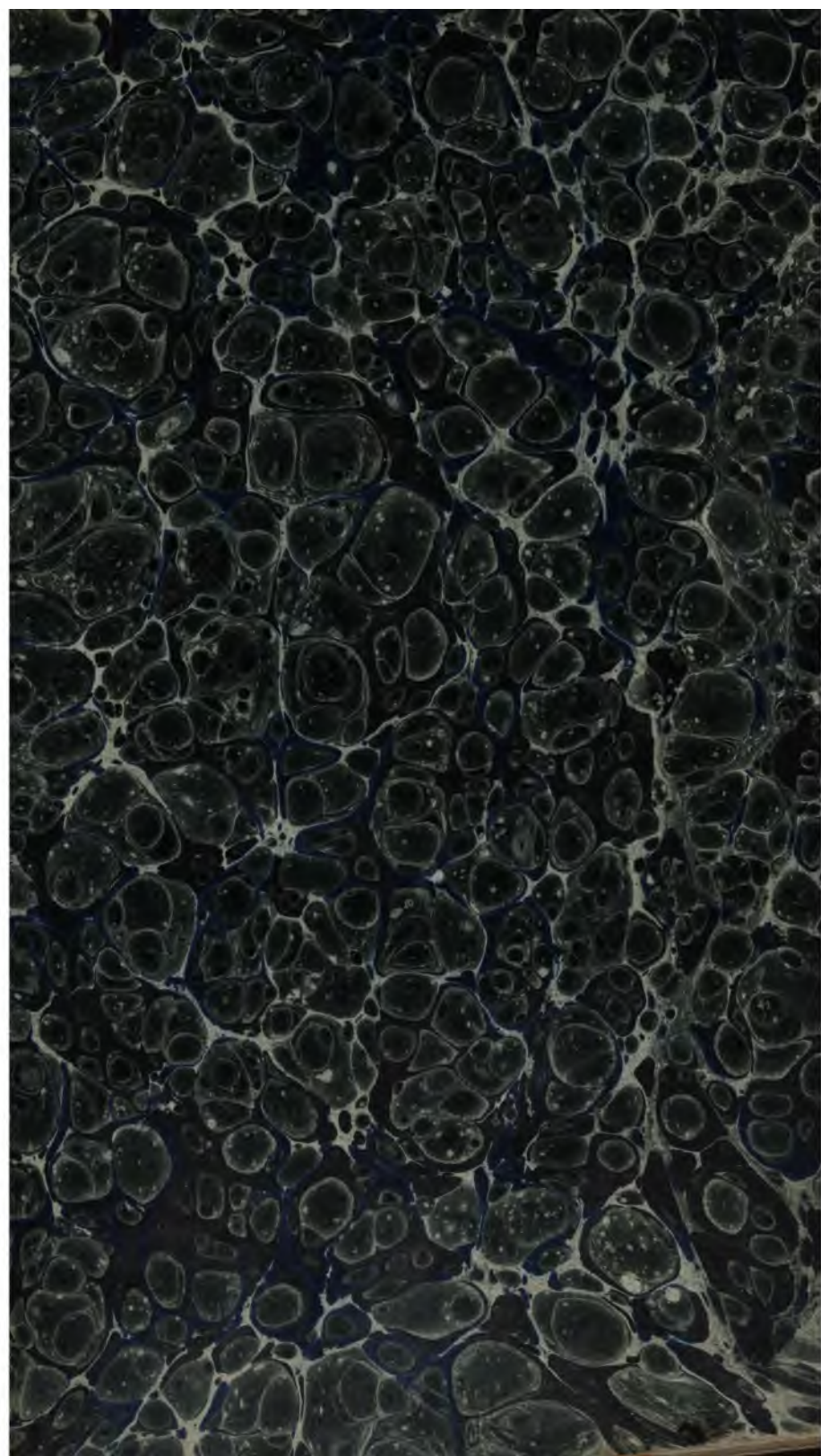
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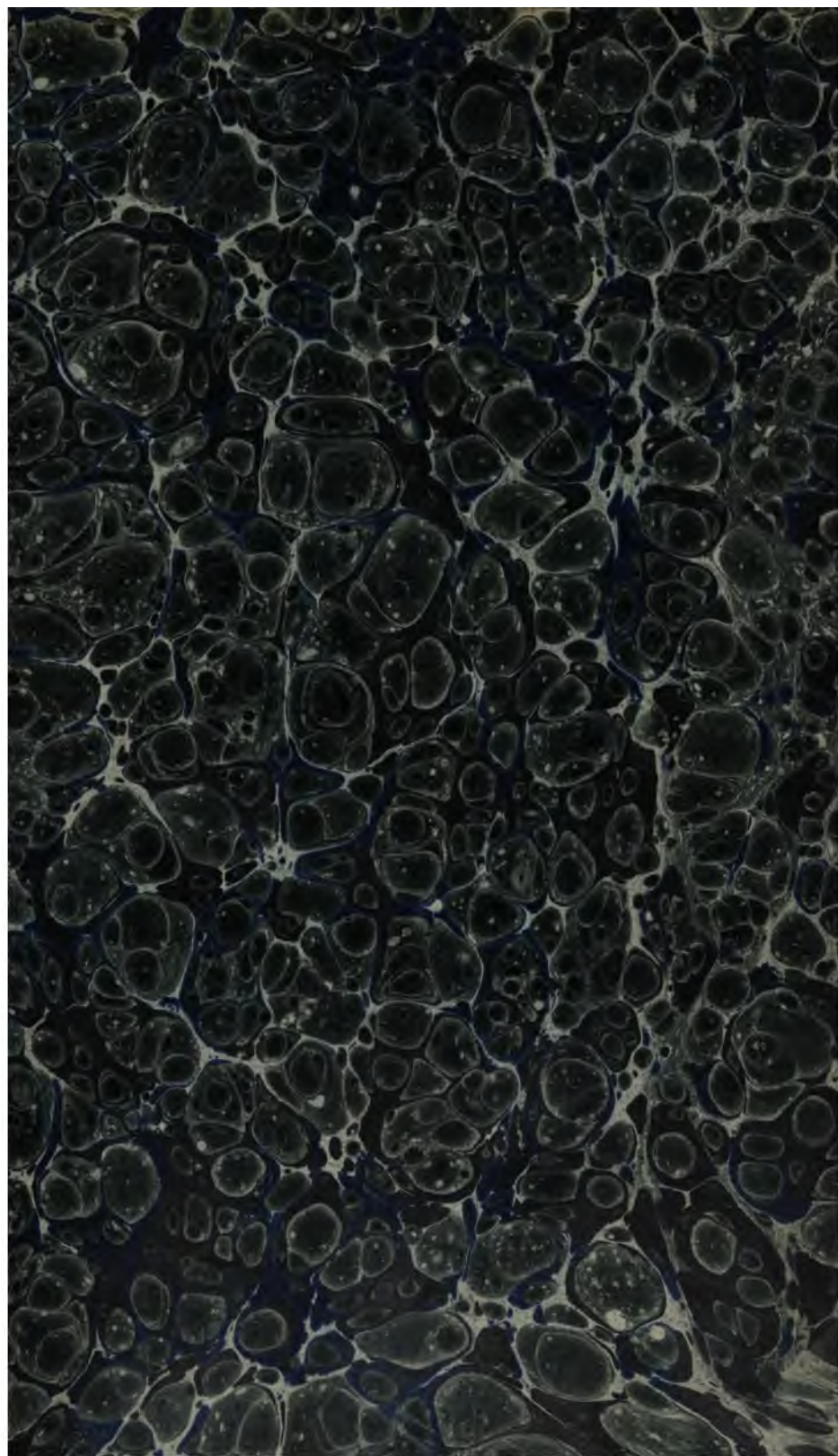
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**AN ESSAY**  
**ON THE**  
**ABOLITION OF SLAVERY**  
**THROUGHOUT THE**  
**BRITISH DOMINIONS,**  
**WITHOUT INJURY TO THE MASTER OR HIS**  
**PROPERTY,**  
**WITH THE LEAST POSSIBLE INJURY TO THE SLAVE,**  
**WITHOUT REVOLUTION,**  
**AND**  
**WITHOUT LOSS TO THE REVENUE.**



**FROM:**  
**PRINTED BY W. P. PENNY.**



**1833.**

~~3367, 23<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>~~

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1861. Aug. 30  
By exchange  
of duplicates.

## INTRODUCTION.

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THERE are few subjects which excite more interest, and concerning which there is a greater variety of opinions, than the condition of Slaves in the British Colonies, and the degree of relief to which they are entitled.

We hear it frequently asserted, that the condition of slaves in the colonies is happier than the state of the majority of free-born subjects in England. To be consistent, any person who professes this opinion should petition, or if he has a seat in Parliament should introduce a bill, to increase the happiness of the majority of his fellow-subjects, including very many tradesmen, by making them slaves to the proprietors of the estates on which they reside. We should then see how such a benevolent proposal for augmenting the felicity of free-men would be received.\*

See Note 1.

Some persons propose the immediate abolition of slavery, without any provision for the necessary consequences. This precipitation appears as erroneous as indefinite delay.

The dissensions of the Slavery and Anti-Slavery parties, at the present moment, are violent. The Legislature should not participate in the feelings or opinions of either.

An experienced Arbitrator of Differences, said, "I am never so well satisfied with the justice of my decision, as when it is censured by both parties; it is then clear that I have shewn no partiality to either." Such is precisely the situation of the Government at present, and such I desire may be the honourable reward of our Legislators, when the great question of emancipation shall be finally determined. May they grant more to the negroes, than the planters approve; and more to the white colonists, than is approved by those who recommend immediate abolition, without peaceful and salutary precautions for the future. The disapprobation of both parties, will be an involuntary admission of the equity of the decision.

Yet the present unequal condition of the parties must not be forgotten. The influence of the West-Indian Proprietor from his wealth, and his presence in both Houses of Parliament, where he is the Advocate, and in some degree the Judge, in his own cause ; while the Slave is poor, uneducated, absent, and so far from being permitted to speak either in the House of Lords or of Commons, that he has been denied the privilege of giving evidence in a Court of Justice.

The first principle of Sovereigns should be benevolence, combined with as much wisdom in the execution of its decrees, as the imperfect state of human nature will permit, in humble imitation of the awful Being who is kind even to the froward and the evil, but whose nature inclines him to resist the oppressor.

Should the slave hereafter injure his master, a catastrophe not very improbable, if the opposition of the planters to the humane regulations of the English Government shall be continued, then many of those who now befriend the negro, will advocate the cause of his master, not from any change of opinion,

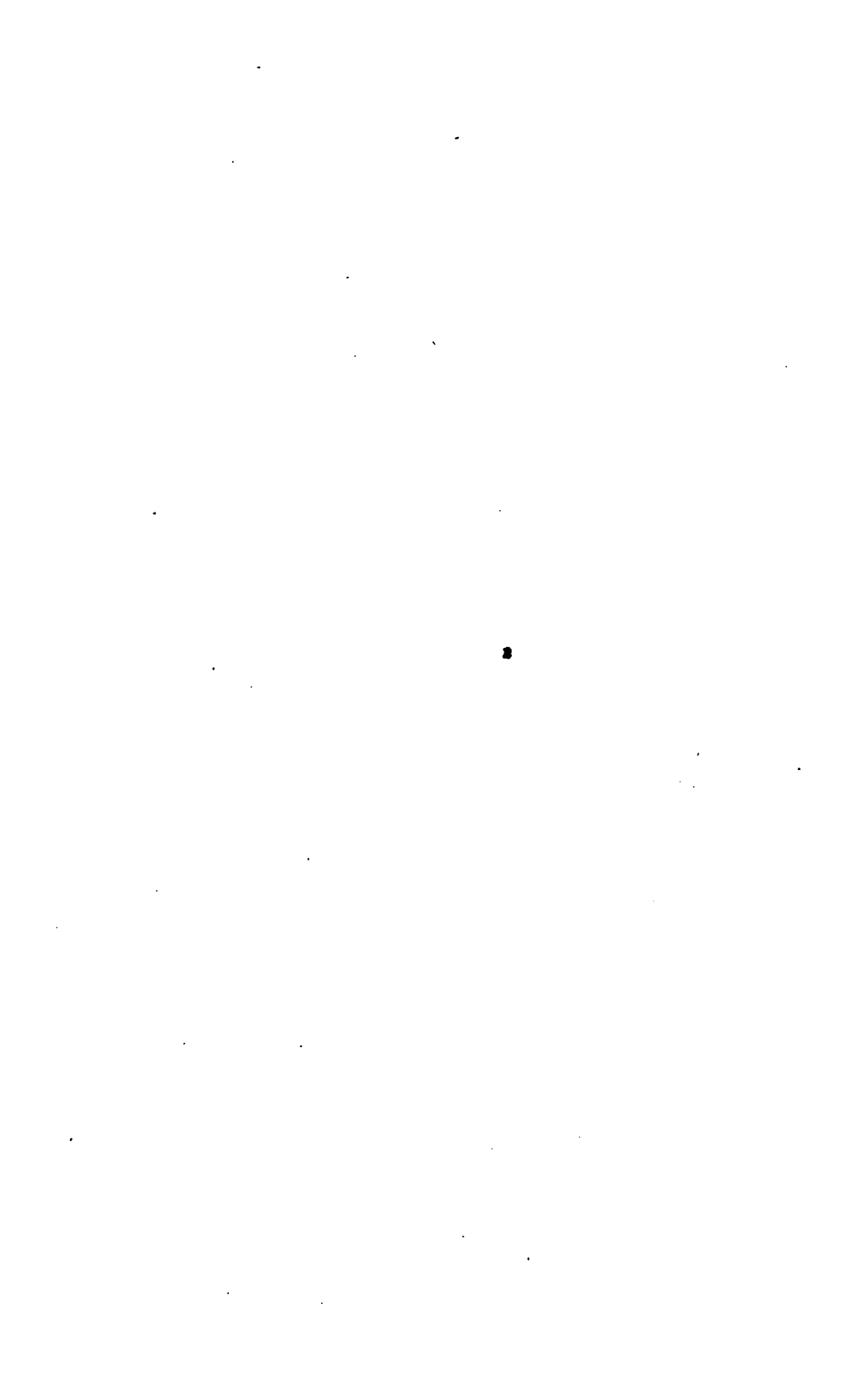
but from an invariable adherence to the principles of equity and humanity.

Every person who argues on great political questions, influenced by party spirit, or by selfish motives, may be sure of one thing, namely, that he will arrive at a wrong conclusion. In the view of an impartial person, the most opposite facts lead to the same conclusion. In relating the deadly contest for freedom, which finally took place in St. Domingo, from the desire of the masters to regain their authority, the friends of the slaves endeavour to overwhelm their adversaries by stating the cruelties inflicted on the negroes; and the friends of the masters attempt to disgrace their opponents by a representation of the cruelties endured by the whites. The master and the slave were equally blameable; but the original cause of all the cruelties was slavery.

One party dwells on the severities of slavery, the other on the sufferings of the poor in England. An impartial person will lend his aid, with equal readiness, to alleviate the condition of both.

The Abolition of Slavery, in all British Possessions, I consider to be already determined on, by the voice of a large majority of the people, including many of every rank and degree. Shall this chivalrous Nation, with one hand and in one day, demolish the chains of Slavery at Algiers?—with a single blow strike off the fetters of Greece, which she had endured for centuries? and with the other hand continue to inflict the lash, the iron collar, and the chain, on eight hundred thousand of the loyal subjects of Great Britain?\*

\* See Note 2.



ON THE  
ABOLITION  
OF

SLAVERY.

*Slaves cannot breathe in England; if their lungs  
Receive our air, that moment they are free,  
They touch our country and their shackles fall.  
That's noble, and bespeaks a nation proud  
And jealous of the blessing. Spread it then,  
And let it circulate through every vein  
Of all your empire. —* *Byssie.*

THE printed Report from the Committee of the Codrington Trust, to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, adopted at their general meeting, expresses the firm determination of the very respectable society to take the lead in a systematic emancipation of their slaves; to shew what preparatory steps ought to be taken, and may be safely taken, by the introduction of free labour into the colonies; to afford an example which may lead to the abolition of slavery, without danger to life or property; to make the trial themselves; and to shew the planters how they may gradually enfranchise their slaves, without destruction to their property.

But having perused carefully the eleven resolutions for effecting these important purposes, contained in the same report, and dictated by the spirit of humanity and of religion towards the negroes, as slaves, it still appears to me that this gradual emancipation may occupy a very long time, and consequently that the object of all the friends to freedom, namely, the Abolition of Slavery at the shortest possible period, consistently with a due regard to property, to the interest of the planters, and to the well-being of the slaves themselves, is wholly kept out of view in these regulations.\*

It would be easy to prove this assertion by a detailed examination, which would only serve to fatigue the reader. Let us then leave it to the ablest calculators to predict, from these resolutions, the year when slavery will cease, and in the mean time take it for granted that the period is very distant and indefinite. In order to ascertain the interesting point of time, when emancipation may take place with safety, and, as far as circumstances will permit, with advantage to all parties, it is necessary first to notice the usual arguments, good, bad, and indifferent, which are advanced against the liberation of slaves.

\* See Note 3.

First.—The Colonies will not produce so much sugar.

Second.—The Negroes will not work without compulsion.

Third.—They would injure both themselves and their masters, if they were suddenly set free.

Fourth.—It is necessary that they should be previously educated.

Fifth.—Compensation must be made to the owners of slaves.

The first objection is, that the Colonies will not produce so much sugar.

Now it is best to fix the plain principle on which this, and other questions, will be argued. There can be but two rules for human conduct, the will of God, and the will of man. It may be said that it is difficult to ascertain what is the will of God in particular cases; but those who believe that he has revealed to us his will, cannot hold that opinion. The will of man is capricious, cruel, selfish, often wholly irreconcilable to justice and truth. Let us then take the revealed will of God as our rule, explained by the clearest portion of revelation, the volume of nature.\*

The quantity of sugar produced by slaves, in comparison with the quantity which may

\* See Note 4.

probably be attained by free labour, has been held up too much as the rule of decision by parliamentary orators, in publications, and in the reports delivered by persons appointed by the Government to examine and to enquire in the Colonies.

One small circumstance seems to have been overlooked, namely, that gain is not the only, nor the best object of human life.

Let every exertion which is consistent with the laws of humanity and religion, and which the distinguished talent and enterprise of the nation can devise, be made, and we shall have sugar enough, and profit enough. It is not improbable that the produce may be greater by *free* labour, and an improved system of Agriculture.\*

If we transgress the laws of humanity in the pursuit of wealth, do we not exchange the established religion of our country, for the religion attributed by BURKE, to a Merchant, when he said, His Ledger is his Bible, his Desk his Altar, the Exchange his Church, and Gold is his God.†

The second objection is, that the negroes will not work without compulsion.

It is an experiment which, till lately, has

\* See Note 5

† See Note 6.

seldom been attempted by rational means. A white man will not labour in these sultry climates half the day for his own benefit, therefore black men are compelled to work all the day, and part of the night, for the benefit of others. No inducement is given.

The negroes are an active and powerful race of men; but, like other persons, little inclined to exert their strength without some influential motive, and receiving some personal advantage. Englishmen are distinguished for energy and activity; and their climate is admirably adapted to promote these valuable qualities: yet I frequently witness masses of able-bodied Englishmen, moving certainly in the attitudes of workmen, but languid, spiritless, looking more like machines than British labourers. They are sure of subsistence, but have no personal motive for exertion.\* This resembles, in many points, the condition of a slave: and such treatment will have similar effects on mankind in all countries, whether the subjects of it are high-minded Britons, in their bracing climate, or black slaves in the sultry regions of the East and of the West.

We first take the Africans by force from their native country, the scene of the happiest

\* The Parish Poor.

early recollections to all human beings; we plant them on a soil where they can have no will of their own; we pay the wages they ought to receive to the person who sells them; we compel them to work by the revolting methods of flagellation, of severer punishments, and by that perfect paralysis of all voluntary exertion—Slavery; and then we complain that they are averse to labour.\*

It is like a charioteer who mounts his chariot, to which are yoked high-mettled horses, and with lash and voice drives his spirited steeds full speed to the west, and then is smitten with wonder and amazement that they have made no progress to the east.

Do not the plainest dictates of common sense sufficiently prove, that in order to produce an opposite result, the system of compulsion must be completely reversed. Property will command labour in all parts of the world, and there is no exception to exclude our colonies. Let the wages be paid to those who earn them; encouragement be substituted for stripes; and the free and vigorous race I shall describe be preferred to unwilling slaves, and much will be done to meet, and to subdue, this great and acknowledged difficulty.

\* See Note 7.

These are not theoretical opinions, but facts which have been proved by experience; by the consequences which followed the liberation of Crown slaves in our own Colonies;\* the emancipation of a larger number at the Cape of Good Hope, at Brazil, in Cuba, in Mexico, and in Columbia;† and even the sudden freedom conferred on the slaves in Hayti,‡ who were industrious and peaceable, till attempts were made by violence, and the atrocious treachery of BONAPARTE, to wrest from them the liberty they had acquired: then, indeed, this despised race was inspired with sufficient energy to subdue the, so called, invincible hosts of France, and the armies of Britain.

In England, where men are abundant and willing to be employed, without any expenditure but moderate wages, machinery has been invented to multiply production to an excess, to cause a superfluity of manufacture which cannot be disposed of; but in the Colonies, where it is necessary to pay a considerable sum for each man, to maintain him and his family, and to make him work by compulsion, we seldom hear of any attempt to lessen human labour, by horses, by machinery, by

\* See Note 8.    † See Note 9.    ‡ See Note 10.

steam, or by any ingenious contrivance. Does this arise from the contempt in which the slaves are held, or from the master's obligation to support them when their labour is not wanted? It is not improbable that ingenuity may contrive means for the more complete performance of all the necessary labour in the Colonies, with half the exertion of human strength, at present employed there, and at far less expence. In England, we have many machines for agricultural purposes, as well as for manufactures. A gentleman, who passed several years in different West-India Islands, and has personally superintended the culture of estates there on the present system, assures me that it is susceptible of great improvements, alike beneficial to the planter and favourable to the condition of the labourer, which might prove the great objection, that the West-India negroes, if emancipated, would not manufacture sugar, to be fallacious. I expect from him an explanatory treatise on the subject, which would be peculiarly valuable at the present period.

The world is on the eve of great changes, and prosperity is more likely to return to the Colonies from other causes, than from the continuance of slavery.

When man will fix no reasonable limit to his

desire for wealth and power, the sources of prosperity usually elude his grasp. It is recorded in history, that when COLUMBUS discovered Hispaniola, the number of inhabitants was computed to be at least a million. These were reduced by the Spaniards to slavery, and in fifteen years were lessened to sixty thousand. In plainer language, the small number of nine hundred and forty thousand rightful possessors of the country were destroyed by the invaders, to satiate their thirst for gold.\* How many hundreds of thousands have been sacrificed in Africa, on the passage, and in various ways, to supply all the Islands, and the Continent of America, with negroes, there is no record on earth to tell; but, there is one in Heaven.† For centuries, the lash has resounded through our beautiful Colonies; at length, even this hardy race of men can no longer produce the usual returns.‡

In northern countries, where labour seems necessary to procure vigorous health, subsistence, and in some degree enjoyment, it is consistent with nature that men should labour incessantly; but in the sultry climates, where

\* History of America, by WILLIAM ROBERTSON, D.D.  
Vol. I, Book III, page 262.

† See Note 11.

‡ See Note 12.

it is said that a man may provide subsistence for himself, by labouring four hours in a week, where the bread-fruit tree and other trees produce sustenance spontaneously, it does not appear that providence ever designed man for perpetual toil.

The many instances of the liberation of numerous slaves in various countries, within the last thirty years, and the regulations which have been made and acted upon for encouraging their industry, will form a valuable source of instruction to those who shall undertake the task of rendering the men who shall be released from slavery, useful to themselves and others, in their new character of freemen.

The third objection is, that the slaves would injure both themselves and their masters, if they were suddenly set free. ♦

No person will dispute the possibility of this, and it therefore becomes necessary to take every precaution to prevent such a catastrophe. No injury is intended to be done to the master or to the slave, and timid persons may think that, for the salvation of both, it will be necessary to continue such of the race as have already arrived at a certain age, in slavery during their existence: but recent events have clearly shewn that the present condition of the colonies.

is by no means a state of safety ;\* that the evils and the insecurity of slavery, and of the struggles for liberty, are greater than any which have arisen, or are likely to arise, from a gift of freedom, accompanied with suitable laws.†

The fourth objection is, that it is necessary the slaves should be educated, previous to their liberation.

On this important subject, the future well or ill being of the slave colonies depends. It has been proposed to educate the whole of the slave population, with a view to qualify them ultimately for freedom. This is perfectly delusive. Slavery and education are irreconcilable. The effect could only be partial, and the result of liberation would be placed at an invisible distance : but the children of negroes may be educated. In England they are brought up in the same schools with others, without shewing any inferiority of capacity or disposition. It has been stated, that in some instances the children of negroes learn more quickly than the children of their masters. The only objection I have seen is, that it would be attended with difficulties. Was there ever so great a change effected in society

\* See Note 13.

† See Note 14.

without encountering difficulties? To this the attention of all persons who, from any motive, interest themselves in the event, should be directed. Various systems of education have been adopted in Europe, which combine diligent labour in the field with scholastic instruction. Something of this nature is best adapted to the young negroes, omitting all imperial sway; exercising only the usual discipline of a school, and using every excitement which emulation and encouragement can produce. It has been said that this process would not go on very smoothly, while the children were accustomed to see their parents suffer daily from the lash, and it must be admitted that nothing can prevent the baneful effects of slavery. Whether it would be desirable for females to be employed in field labour with the men, is a question for those who are more competent to judge. We can educate English children, on Dr. BELL's system, at five shillings a year for each. If negroes were instructed at the same price, the total annual expence would not be very alarming. This sum would be better applied by the government for education, than the much larger one which has been devoted to put down the slave trade by force : a project which has utterly failed. The maintenance of children

on the estates by the proprietors, could be attended with but a moderate expence. The estates in England maintain both parents and children who are paupers. If the parents were free, they might be supported by the fruit of their labour.\*

At this moment men purchase negroes as a speculation, and let them out to hire at a considerable profit. Like our hired horses they are of course worse used than those worked only by the owners: but this shews that there would be a demand for free labourers; and the only difference would be, that the precept, not to defraud the labourer of his hire, must be obeyed.

Free labour under proper regulation, is more productive than the labour of slaves. There must be a reasonable power of controul, extending to banishment to their native Africa, where, in common cases, they should not be sent as criminals, but provided for; because the race was, in the first instance, transported against their will.

If a well-devised system of education and of freedom were adopted for negro youth, free labourers would gradually be substituted for the present race of slaves, without commotion;

\* See Note 15.

in sixty years slavery would nearly have disappeared; and the year might now be named in which it would be wholly abolished, or extend its dominion only over a very insignificant number. Such a body of well-trained labourers may prove one of the best remedies for the present distresses of the Colonies.

The Legislature has a choice of difficulties, to weigh in a just balance the evils which exist, against those which may possibly arise from the boon of freedom, conferred with all possible care and precaution, but without unnecessary delay; to decide between opinions, not varying in a slight degree, but precisely opposed to each other. In the opinion of thousands of well-informed persons, the freedom of slaves, under proper regulations, would change the misfortunes, which appear to impend over our Colonies, to blessings; and as they appeal to experience in past instances, it is the duty of the Legislator to consider the proofs and the arguments in favour of speedy liberation.\*

The fifth objection is, that compensation must be made to the owners of slaves.

The compensation proposed to be allowed to the planters, is one hundred and forty millions.

\* See Note 16.

If infants only shall be liberated, not an acre of land, not a sugar cane, not a labouring slave, will be taken from the owners. For what, then, is compensation to be granted? the income of colonial estates has always been considered precarious, and some of the owners improvident.

A claim is made on account of the great depreciation of property.

To what would this lead? The next claimants would be the English agriculturists, who have been ruined by thousands by the fluctuation of prices, and other causes, since the late war. Some have yielded to despair, and some respectable farmers have been seen begging in the streets.

Next would come thousands of merchants and manufacturers, whose property has disappeared, never to return.

Then the landowners, especially those whose estates are in manufacturing parishes, who are obliged to maintain the poor dismissed from employment, and whose incomes are reduced one-half. Woe be to the government which is to compensate all its disappointed subjects.

Many individuals, by embarking in colonial speculations, have raised their families from very humble circumstances to great affluence.

Only one advocate has yet appeared for compensation to the slaves ; if the wrongs of the slaves, for centuries past, were fairly estimated, the amount could not be less than one hundred and forty millions. Yet nothing is proposed for them, but freedom for themselves and education for their children.

If infants shall be liberated, the Legislature must decide whether the Act of Parliament, which shall bestow the invaluable gift of liberty, should confer it on those children who shall not exceed the age of eight years, - on the day the Act receives the Royal Assent, or whether it shall be limited to those who shall be born after that day. In either case, there would be a gradual and safe approach to freedom ; and the last year of slavery, though distant, might be named with some precision.

Can there be an advocate found for the slavery of infants, and of the unborn ? Is there a heart which can conceive the thought, a tongue which can give utterance to it ? If there should be such an advocate, would he not unavoidably remind us of his Satanic majesty, when he first alighted on Mount Niphates, flew to the loftiest tree in Paradise to survey the garden and its innocent inhabitants, and to contrive the ruin of them and of their offspring to all future generations.\*

\* See Note 17.

If the serviceable slaves shall be liberated, the compensation will become an important affair. No unprejudiced person, who implores justice for the slave will deny it to his master. As the question has been treated with precision elsewhere, I shall not enter on it here, but merely cite some of the opinions which have been already published.\*

If compensation shall be decreed, the mode of raising it will become an important consideration. This nation, which boasts of its wealth, has been plunged so deeply in debt to defray the expences of war, that it possesses no income for the best purposes of government, for the effective reduction of debt during intervals of peace, for the encouragement of undertakings of acknowledged public advantage, for charity, for the advancement of the arts and sciences, or for improving the condition of the most numerous and most necessitous class of society. Nothing can be more absurd than the outcry for a reduction of taxes, without substituting others, or reducing yearly expences. Either the payment of dividends on stock must be lessened, which would be dishonourable, or the regular outgoings previously diminished, or a more eligible tax be imposed, before onerous taxes

\* See Note 18,

can be removed. The Duke of Wellington lessened the annual expenditure, but it is difficult to understand his scheme of finance ; perhaps it remains incomplete, in consequence of the sudden termination of his authority. During his administration, an Act was passed to enable the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt to grant Life Annuities, and Annuities for Terms of Years, which, as far as its influence extends, will be beneficial ; but the Beer Duties were relinquished, amounting to nearly three millions a year, without substituting any efficient means to replace the loss. A new sort of public houses has been established, which have introduced drunkenness and its consequent miseries in a multitude of rural districts, where they were comparatively unknown before. The income of the country being reduced below the common average of a peace establishment, he has since come forward, in his place in the House of Lords, to observe that the revenue is not in a satisfactory state.

The income tax must be reserved for a period of war. Other taxes are already so high, that, if it were possible, some of them should be lessened ; and there is no resource but the income tax, or the property tax, for military and naval expenditure.

Six plans have been proposed for the

abolition of slavery, within the following periods of time.

*In sixty years.*

1. The freedom of all infants born after a certain period, which would terminate slavery in about sixty years.

*In twenty years.*

2. The liberation of five adult slaves in every hundred, yearly, that is one-twentieth of the present number in every year, and of all infants, which would extinguish slavery in about twenty years.

*In twelve years.*

3. The redemption of all slaves by their own labour, which would confer freedom in about twelve years.

*In seven years.*

4. That all children, born after a certain date, shall be free. That the adults shall be emancipated at the end of seven years, and that the interval be employed in teaching them to be fit for freedom.

*In one year.*

5. The freedom of all slaves, on a day to be fixed by an Act of Parliament, under proper regulations for their future conduct and subsistence.

*Never.*

6. The purchase of all slaves by a voluntary

annual subscription. This, on trial, would be found inefficient and impracticable.

Each of these plans requires a separate consideration.

1. The freedom of all infants, born after a certain period. This would cause no sudden change. It would deprive no planter of any serviceable slave. It would give ample time for education and other preparatory measures, and lessen, perhaps extinguish, the claim for compensation.

The difficulties are, that it would leave the parents in slavery, and render their condition more painful by the contrast: that it would require a period of sixty years to release the slaves of more advanced age, by death.

The freedom of infants must form a part of every effective measure for the abolition of slavery.

2. The liberation of a certain number in every hundred, yearly. This subject has been lately discussed in a periodical publication, conducted with great ability and of extensive circulation. The opinion of the writer of the article, is given in the following words:—  
“Supposing, however, that those measures now suggested for lessening the pressure on the West Indians, and adding to the comfort of all classes at home, were adopted, still they

would not be enough. Parliament must apply itself to fix some certain and definite rules, with respect to the treatment of the slaves. To prepare those who have been brutalized by ages of slavery, for performing the part of free citizens, must, under any circumstances, be an exceedingly difficult task,\* and especially so in the West Indies, where the slaves form so great a majority of the population; but, while anything like precipitation in a matter of such extreme delicacy, cannot be too strongly deprecated, there should not, on the other hand, be the least delay in adopting some consistent and uniform system to ensure the gradual extinction of slavery, with advantage to both slaves and masters. The obstacles in the way of such a consummation are, no doubt, very formidable; but they must be grappled with, and may be overcome. It would be gross injustice to identify the larger and more respectable portion of the West-Indians, with that loathsome trash that is poured forth weekly and monthly by those who call themselves the advocates of the West-Indian interest, but who are its bitterest enemies. Can they be so besotted as to suppose that their abusive ribaldry *will prevail*

\* See Note 19.

*on the people of England to waver in their fixed determination to purify every spot of their dominion from the abomination of slavery?\**

It is not in the nature of things that the present constitution of society should be maintained in the West Indies. The question of emancipation is now merely one of *time*; and those among the planters who have a just sense of their own real interests, will join cordially in devising measures for making that transition, which must take place, as little dangerous as possible.

The constant agitation of the question of emancipation, here and in the Colonies, is in the highest degree detrimental to the planters, who are, in fact, deprived of that security so essential to the success of all undertakings. Surely, then, it is for their interest that the question should be decided; and decided it can only be in one of two ways—either by the immediate, or the gradual emancipation of the slaves. It would be easy to shew—and is indeed generally admitted—that the first plan would be destructive not only of the interests of the planters, but also of those of the slaves.† Let, then, some plan of gradual emancipation be devised, and the animosities that now exist

\* See Note 20.

† See Notes 8, 9, 13, and 14.

will be allayed ; an end will be put to those intemperate discussions that are productive of so much mischief ; and confidence and security will again revive. The better way, we believe, would be to oblige the planters to emancipate a certain portion, as two per cent. of their slaves each year, making the arrangements such, that the planters should find it for their interest to make emancipation a reward for good conduct. Some of those most deeply interested in the question, agree with us in thinking, that by means of some measure of this sort, the transition from bondage to freedom may be effected without any violent convulsion ; and that all classes, masters as well as slaves, would be benefited by its adoption.”\*

It appears strange, that the writer who penned this passage—“ Can they be so besotted as to suppose that their abusive ribaldry will prevail on the people of England to waver in their fixed determination to purify every spot of their dominion from the abomination of slavery ?” should recommend the emancipation of two slaves in the hundred, in each year, as the best plan for restoring their liberty. As, even with the discouragements to increase

\* *Edinburgh Review*, No. CVIII. December, 1831, Article III, Colonial Policy—West-Indian Distress, pages 348, 349.

which arise from slavery, the number of births is more than two per cent. yearly, it is too clear that this scheme, like some others which profess to bestow freedom on slaves, is a plan for the perpetuation of slavery. I can have no doubt of the excellent intentions of the writer ; but his conclusion is inconsistent with his premises. His suggestion, that a certain proportion should be liberated yearly, is worthy of consideration : but there must be a previous regulation, that all infants, born after a certain day, shall be free. Then will follow the rule for liberating, yearly, a proportion of the slaves who were born before that period. If the number should be fixed at five in each hundred, still it would take twenty years to terminate slavery, and this many persons would think too long.

If a system of severity is to be continued, which will prevent all natural increase, then the plan of the writer may be effective ; but the efficiency will arise, not from liberating yearly two slaves in each hundred, but by killing off yearly a larger number by severity of treatment.

In the same article various means are recommended, by permitting a free intercourse between the Colonies and the United States, and by reduction of duties, effectually to relieve

the distress, and to promote the prosperity of the West-Indian proprietors, with benefit to the people of England, and without injury to the revenue. If this author's opinion on these subjects be correct, I hope every benefit which he proposes to bestow on the owners of slaves will be granted them, at the same time that the law for the emancipation of the negroes shall be enacted; but not one day sooner. If the British Parliament shall give wealth to the master, and continue to rob the poor slave of his liberty, which no power on earth had a right to deprive him of, it must resign all claim to impartiality, and to justice.\*

Should this combined plan be adopted, the advantages given to the planter will be probably thought sufficient compensation for the gradual abolition of slavery; and if not, the division of the amount into twenty yearly sums will facilitate the payment. If our Government can confer valuable advantages, at the same instant, on the master, and on the slave, it will form a happy termination to the anxieties of both.

3. The redemption of slaves by their own labour, which would confer freedom in about twelve years. This plan has been adopted

\* See Note 21.

with success in the States of Mexico. The master is deprived of the power to punish his servant. Both master and servant are subject to the magistrate. The compensation is paid by the wages of the servant, without expense to the government. The order of society is not disturbed. The only disadvantages appear to be delay, and compelling the servant to pay for his liberty.

4. That all children, born after a certain date, shall be free. That the adults shall be emancipated at the end of seven years, and that the interval shall be employed in teaching them to be fit for freedom.

This was suggested by Mr. BRIGSTOCK, the Candidate for the Eastern Division of Somersetshire, and appears more reasonable and decisive than many which have been proposed. It leaves the question of compensation unsettled.

5. The freedom of all slaves on a day to be fixed by an Act of Parliament, under proper regulations for their future conduct and subsistence.

So far is it from being generally admitted, that the immediate emancipation of slaves would be destructive of the interests of the planters and of the slaves, as is stated by the writer I have quoted, that there are few

subjects on which men are more divided in opinion. I have myself consulted two gentlemen, each of whom has resided many years in different West-India Islands, one as a respectable missionary, the other as a superintendant of the culture of estates, on the consequence of immediate, and general emancipation. The answer of the missionary is, "I believe the measure would be attended with no unpleasant consequences; but with much benefit to all parties." The reply of the experienced planter is to this effect, No white person could reside amongst them after the day of freedom. A dreadful state of things would exist for a few years, after which they would degenerate into their primitive state in Africa. But he adds, a few years of instruction to the rising generation, and *an improved system of Agriculture* introduced previous to such liberation, might produce a different result; indeed I think it would.\*

I believe the opinion of the Missionary is founded on the supposition of the emancipation taking place with the approval of all parties, and on the result of recent similar events. Even at Hayti the negroes were industrious, and the whites remained in peaceable

\* See Note 22.

possession of their lands, till an attempt was made to restore slavery. It appears more probable that evils may arise from the resistance of the white population, and from such terrible contests as have lately occurred, than from the misconduct of the slaves.

6. The purchase of slaves by a voluntary annual subscription.

The amount of the annual subscription I have heard proposed is forty thousand pounds. Let us estimate it at fifty thousand pounds, which, if we compare it with other subscriptions raised throughout Great Britain for the best purposes, is a liberal sum. Let the value of a slave be rated so low as fifty pounds, which, as the best are to be selected, is a moderate value. Then the number redeemed yearly would be one thousand. What reduction would this make of 800,000 slaves, who, if fairly treated, will increase yearly in a much larger proportion. Surely those who propose this have never made the simplest calculation.

*It does not appear to me that any reasonable person can adopt either of the various plans of emancipation which has been proposed, without first seeing and considering the regulations relative to subsistence, to peaceable conduct, and to industrious employment, with which it is to*

*be accompanied; and these are not yet in existence.*

Many persons are of opinion that the Abolition of Slavery should be complete, throughout the British Dominions, as soon as Laws can be framed for the Government and Regulation of Society in the new form it would then assume, and adapted to all the new relations and circumstances which would consequently arise. They think that this great object would thus be accomplished with more success, and with less hazard, than by any of the dilatory methods which have been proposed. Those who hold the opposite opinion, seem not to perceive the Earthquake which pervades the Slave Colonies at the moment I am writing, and which portends a violent convulsion, if means are not adopted to avert it.

I will not presume to determine the question; but am satisfied with having stated distinctly six modes of bestowing freedom for the consideration of persons better informed than myself, and on whom the responsibility will ultimately rest, avowing my conviction that temporising and indecisive measures will be found inconsistent with the interest of all the parties.

If the planters should be deprived of

property by the measure, they will be entitled to remuneration. Far be it from the Advocates of Freedom to decide this important problem in legislation from party feelings, without awarding equal justice to the master, as well as to the slave, or to shrink from personally contributing their share of the loss. Before the amount can be determined various topics demand consideration. First, whether, in the present depreciated state of West India and other property, the change will not be an advantage. If it shall cause an important loss, then a claim from the Colonists on the inhabitants of Great Britain, as participators in the practice and the profits of slavery, must be admitted : but having only shared in the evil, and in the profit, are they to be called on for more than a moiety of the amount ? and when this question is settled, justice imperatively requires that a sufficient sum shall be applied to place the slaves in a condition to obtain their future support.

Let the white Colonists have money, or other advantages, to compensate any loss which they can prove ; let it not be raised by voluntary subscription, which would tax the liberal and let the misers and the selfish go free, if it were practicable ; but let all who are not slave owners participate in the honour and in the loss.

The history of all ages from the creation of the World, and our daily observation and experience, combine to prove that man is unfit for the exercise of absolute dominion. This truth is clearly shewn in every relation of life. The only approach to slavery in this free country, is the state of apprenticeship. We see mistresses, as well as masters, brought before Courts of Justice, and convicted of cruelty to their apprentices. It is the duty of a Judge to try Causes and Criminals; but he is bound to decide in conformity with the laws of the Realm; otherwise we know, that, with all the advantages of knowledge and wisdom, his decisions would be partial and unjust. A thief, with a pistol in his hand, meets a traveller alone; then the felon is invested with authority for a moment; and he takes the opportunity to rob, or perhaps to kill him. A man finds he can sell a dead body for sovereigns; he allures an unsuspecting woman, a simple man, or a foreign boy, to his den; and, having them in his power, drowns, or strangles them. A trader in slaves has completed his cargo, has bound his victims in iron fetters, and sailed towards the country where he is to receive the reward of his crime; when a British vessel appears in view, and gives chase, he takes these helpless unoffending

beings, chained as they are, and throws them into the Sea. A Sovereign of Great Britain, of excellent dispositions, and advised by men of the first talents in the kingdom, is not permitted to make laws without the concurrence of the grand council of the nation ; because it is known, from past events, that such a privilege would involve him and his subjects in misfortune.

All this is so perfectly evident, that it is needless to cite the examples of the, so called, heroes of antiquity, whose path was marked by devastation and blood : or of the absolute sovereigns of the world, some of whom were distinguished from each other chiefly by different shades of baseness and cruelty. I prefer selecting the evil fruits of unlimited power from England, and elsewhere, rather than from the West Indies, because this great truth is to be ascertained from the universal condition of human nature, better than from the conduct of any particular class or society. The chief difference is, that in the Colonies evil dispositions and practices are less checked by the laws, and by public opinion.\*

The usual arguments against slavery arising from particular instances, and the specified

\* See Note 23.

misconduct of different persons, may be controverted ; and, in some instances, when information has been defective, disproved ; but the argument, arising from the experience of all ages, of the evils produced by absolute power vested in individuals, is incontrovertible, and can never be refuted by an answer which bears any resemblance to Truth.\*

The power to purchase freedom, a day at a time in every week, may, in a small degree, alleviate slavery. As a measure to produce freedom it is useless. We first rob a poor man of his liberty, and compel him to work for us. Then, when he has neither money nor time, we offer to sell him the freedom we have wronged him of. Some few, by the period of life in which their labour is of small value to themselves or others, may effect this object ; but, if it be held out as a measure by which the freedom of the negro race can be accomplished, it will be found a deception, if any person can be deceived by so obvious a fallacy.

The attempt to extinguish the slave trade of other nations, by force, appears to be unattainable. We should never sink under the magnitude of an enterprise, if it can be

\* See Note 24.

accomplished ; but to make great efforts to perform impossibilities is useless. All which England can do, is to set a bright example in her own conduct ; and to shew to the world that she can effect all the valuable purposes of government, not only without trading in slaves, but without slavery. If the men of lordly port, whose fair large front and eye sublime, declare absolute rule, were captured by pirates, they might themselves partake of the punishments, and the subjection they so willingly inflict upon others ; and this participation of indignity and sorrow, would probably awaken a stronger sense of the injustice of slavery, and more sympathy with their fellow sufferers, of whatever complexion, than any argument which can be addressed to their understanding.

From my youth I have flown to the protection of the gentler sex from injury or insult, and would not burden them with the weight of a feather. I am indebted to them for the happiest hours of my life, for the most valuable and disinterested services, and for friendships which can never expire in time, nor in eternity. I will not censure them for their approval of the castigation of men. I have no doubt that many of them know, and can prove, that Englishmen, as well as negroes, deserve to be flogged sometimes, though they

escape it : but if they have not sufficient respect or sympathy for their own sex, to wish to preserve them from degradation, I think their opinions want a little improvement ; and perhaps it would be most influential to indulge their imaginations with the thought of what their own feelings would be, if they were in similar circumstances ; if their fair complexions were to be branded with an indelible mark, by a hot iron ; if, instead of a laced night-cap, and an eider down pillow, they were to be favoured with an iron collar surrounded with spikes, which would make it impossible for them to lie down by day, or by night ; if, with the modesty and reserve which are natural to English women, they were liable to other punishments, which it would be improper to describe.

Some persons think unfavourably of the humanity and the character of West-Indian proprietors. I have no such prejudice, believing that they exactly resemble any other numerous class of his majesty's subjects, and that, like other societies, they partake of every gradation of character, from the best to the worst. Some express their willingness to see the planters, or their property destroyed, if thereby the liberation of the slaves could be effected. I would not do the smallest injury

to either. Not that I am indifferent to the cause of freedom.

I respect highly the distinguished persons who hold command in the British Army, and am convinced of the necessity of authority, of subordination, and discipline; but when in my youth, I chose a pursuit, I felt myself precluded from the military profession, by my reluctance to place my mind, and in some instances my conscience, under the absolute direction of any human being. I would now, if it were possible, pass many times through the valley of the shadow of Death, rather than submit to be a slave.

Yet, with sensitiveness which would shrink from the controul of man, as instinctively as any one deprived of his skin would from the sting of an insect, with the love of ease which naturally attaches to a sexagenarian, I would be myself a slave, not to-morrow, but at this hour, if by such a sacrifice I could release four hundred thousand men, and four hundred thousand women, from the degradation of slavery, and secure my country from the inconsistency of making proud boasts of her freedom at the same moment she brandishes the lash over eight hundred thousand of her unfortunate subjects; and I should then think myself more honoured by every punishment I

might receive, than by any distinction or affluence, dignity or title, which Royalty can bestow.

There is one subject which I should not have thought it necessary to notice, if it had not been stated lately in public speeches, and in widely-spread publications of considerable ability, namely, the probability that if the British Government shall refuse to perpetuate slavery in the Colonies, the planters will transfer their allegiance to America. As in such a rebellion they must necessarily draw the sword, and throw away the scabbard, it will be right to state in plain terms what would be the result. They would of course stipulate with America for the continuance of slavery. A distinguished modern General remarked, that he never invaded a country to which a ship could sail, but he was immediately followed by a British fleet to defeat his enterprise. Now it would be only necessary to land a British army in any of the revolted Colonies, to issue a proclamation promising regulated liberty to the slaves, and every black man would range himself under the British Banner. On that day there would be an end of the planters, and of their property, and of American interference.\*

\* See Note 25.

May the good sense and forbearance of all parties avert such extremities.

The public are no longer satisfied with measures of mediocrity, with talking of things and not performing them, with large promises and lame performances. The world has seen what great effects can be produced by able and ambitious men for merely selfish purposes, by decision of character. They expect of good men to combine decision in execution, with benevolence and wisdom in their design. It has pleased providence to elevate this country, to bestow on her a large portion of power and influence. All her grand measures military, naval, and political, have of late shewn the union of wisdom with decision. It is evident that in the proportion in which these great qualities have been combined, such measures have prospered and proved beneficial. It is only by the adoption of wisdom in the design, and of decision in the execution, as the principles of action, that slavery can be abolished, and that England can establish throughout her foreign dominions, the law which already prevails at home; that every human being who acknowledges her sovereignty shall be free.

**NOTES**  
**AND**  
**ILLUSTRATIONS.**



NOTES  
AND  
ILLUSTRATIONS.

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NOTE 1.—PAGE iii.—INTRODUCTION.

*Slavery preferable to Freedom.*

It would be absurd to suppose that the opinions of men who thus deliberately prefer slavery to freedom, can have any weight with those who duly estimate the value of a free constitution. The only fact proved by such opinions, is, that the men who profess them are wholly unworthy to enjoy the benefits of the free institutions of the country in which they were born.

*Public estimation of the Advocates of Slavery.*

It is to be expected that hired writers, and those who are so unfortunate as to be owners of slaves, will advocate the cause of slavery ; and the world well knows the value of such testimony : but it is difficult to imagine that any disinterested persons, either in parliament, or elsewhere, will adopt such a course, and voluntarily place themselves in so unfavourable a position. The advocates of slavery, in a country proud of its freedom, must necessarily hold about the same rank in the estimation of the public, which the advocates of idolatry would do, in a country where the only true religion is established by law, and by general consent.

### *State of Slavery.*

Long debates are carried on respecting the good or bad treatment of particular slaves. These details are endless. The most important point is the system of slavery. The next, what would be the result of a decided change? Slavery is so unjust in itself, and in its consequences, that no ameliorating circumstances can make it right. There may be proprietors in the Colonies who take as much pleasure in shewing kindness to their slaves, as others do in oppressing them: but the mildness of a master's disposition cannot justify the practice of selling and buying men and women, and compelling them to work without wages. It is too well known that slaves in the possession of a bad master may be treated with great cruelty, without the possibility of redress: so that their condition depends wholly on the accident of having a good, or a bad master, instead of the protection of equal laws.

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### LEGAL SEVERITIES.

#### *St. Lucia.*

The penalties on fugitive slaves are cruelly severe. A slave striking his owner is liable to death; or striking any free person, to imprisonment and hard labour for life.

#### *Mauritius.*

After such an intimation, says Lord GODERICH, it was scarcely to be expected that a second ordinance should be transmitted, for his Majesty's approbation, which authorises the chaining together of women and boys of the age of fifteen, and the chaining boys apart from each other, whatever be their age.

*Letter of the Secretary of State, 28 Feb. 1831.*

### *Whipping of Women.*

It were sad enough to think that such a system of punishment could be tolerated in the case of men, but doubly so when it is considered that women likewise are subject to it. The young and the aged, mothers of families, and even those whose hoary locks proclaim length of years, are openly, and in the presence of other sex, doomed to the endurance of this disgraceful abuse.

*Letters to the Duke of Wellington by the Rev. J. M. Trew,  
Rector of St. Thomas in the East, in Jamaica.*

### *Punishment of Drivers.*

Among the punishments we observe some of portentous moment. In the first half year 62 drivers are punished for neglecting their duty, and allowing the gang to be idle; in the second, 83; in the third, 49; in the fourth, 68. What a tremendous influence must those applications to the driver's sensibility of pain, exert on the fears of the gang under him, in stimulating them to labour?

*Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 84, page 343.*

### *Jamaica Jails.*

Of this number 174, namely, 146 men, and 28 women, were condemned to hard labour, in chains, for life, the sole crime for which they incurred this frightful punishment was that of absconding from their masters work, in other words, that of running away from the cart-whip, for six months or more.

*Return laid on the Table of the House of Commons,  
16th. July, 1830.*

In all those cases the owners too are indemnified for the slaves thus condemned to imprisonment and hard labour for life, by being paid their appraised value.

## NOTE 2.—PAGE vii.—INTRODUCTION.

*Consequences of the intercourse of European Nations with the Natives of America and of Africa.*

It is painful to think of the intercourse between European nations, who call themselves civilized and christian, with the natives of America and of Africa. The unhappy consequences which have ensued are too well known to be enumerated. Marriage between such different races, and the production of Sambos, Mulattos, Quadroons, Mustees, and Mustiphinos are by no means to be desired.

*Opinion of an eminent French Author.*

If I were called on to account for the right we have to make the Negroes slaves, these would be my arguments. The people of Europe having exterminated those of America, have found it proper to enslave the Africans, that they might assist in preparing so much waste land. Sugar would be too dear, if the plant which produces it were not cultivated by slaves. Those of whom we speak are black from head to foot, and the nose is so flattened, that it is almost impossible to pity them. We cannot comprehend that God, who is a wise Being, can have placed a soul, and especially a soul capable of virtue, in a body all black.

It is impossible that we can suppose these people to be men; because if we suppose they are men, we must begin to believe that we, ourselves, are not Christians.

*Montesquieu.*

*Washington, Kosciusko, and Bolivar.*

Three distinguished military persons have appeared in modern times, each of whom possessed slaves. Washington, Kosciusko, and Bolivar. Washington, who contended in the field for freedom many years, by whose name the Metropolis,

and many Counties, Towns, and Villages are called, in the country whose independence he established, and who has been celebrated as the Apostle of Liberty through the world, retained Slaves to the end of his life, and released them not at his death ; though they were so desirous of liberty, that his friends advised them to be chained when his Will was read, to prevent insurrection.

If Kosciusko had obtained freedom for his country, he would probably have liberated the serfs of Poland by a general ordinance. Being imprisoned after his defeat, and deprived of his estates, during some years he had no authority. It is honourable to his memory, that, during his life, he bestowed this best of gifts on the serfs residing on his own property.

Bolivar liberated his numerous Slaves.

What a shade does this contrast throw on the character of Washington !

#### NOTE 3.—PAGE 2.

#### *Resolutions of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.*

The Society being desirous of affording all possible encouragement to the Slaves, on the Codrington Estates, to enter into lawful wedlock, and of connecting it with the great object of their gradual manumission in order that their religious and moral conduct may lead the way to freedom, have adopted the following regulations : and their agricultural attorney will be instructed to do all in his power to give effect to their benevolent intentions :—

1.—Slaves married according to the rites of the Established Church, and continuing to live together, to be entitled to exemption from compulsory labour one day in the week—such privilege to be forfeited by either party who may desert the other, or be guilty of immoral conduct.

2.—All Slaves to be allowed to purchase one or more day's exemption from compulsory labour, until they are completely enfranchised : every encouragement to be given them to employ such day or days with profit and advantage to themselves. The time of exemption from labour thus granted to, or purchased by, married women, to be so distributed as best to promote domestic habits and the comforts of their families.

3.—A man and his wife to be permitted to purchase their joint freedom, for one or more days, at two-thirds of the price, which would be paid for the freedom of the two, if separately purchased.

4.—Freedom so purchased to be transmitted as an inheritance, to all the children born in lawful wedlock.

5.—Manumissions to be granted, from time to time, to such Slaves as shall have recommended themselves to favourable notice by continued good conduct, preference in case of equally good conduct being given to those who have purchased for themselves the greatest number of days.

6.—Task labour by the Slaves on the estate to be adopted as far as is practicable, and returns to be made, quarterly, to the Society of the extent to which this measure has been carried, and of its results.

7.—Although it appears that the use of the whip in the field, and as an instrument of female punishment, has already been discontinued on the Society's estates, and that offences are punished by moderate confinement, it is thought right to direct in express terms, first, that the whip shall not be carried into the field as a stimulus to labour, or as an emblem of authority ; and secondly, that females shall in no case be punished by whipping.

8.—The manager to insert in a book, kept for the purpose, an account of every punishment, the age and sex of the Slave, the time and place of commission, the extent of punishment, by whom authorized and inflicted, and the witnesses present ; an attested copy of the book to be transmitted, half-yearly, to the Society, through the Bishop of Barbadoes.

9.—The Slaves never to be removed from the estate by sale.

10.—Writing and arithmetic, as well as reading, to form part of the customary instruction in the schools on the estate.

11.—With a view to provide a safe place of deposit for the savings of the Negroes, the agricultural attorney to be directed to take measures for the establishment of a Savings Bank, under the guaranty of the Society.

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NOTE 4.—PAGE 3.

*Consistency of Slavery with the New Testament.*

I read with surprise, in one of the ablest periodicals, the assertion that the New Testament unequivocally recognises the lawfulness of slavery. I shall not engage in religious controversy: but shall cite the opinions of more competent persons, qualified by education and subsequent pursuits, to decide on such subjects.

“And I hold, if a man has learned what the truth is by patient and deliberate inquiry,—if he does know the system in all the atrocities of its villainy—to speak mildly, to utter sentiments of moderation (as they call it) on the subject, is to betray the truth—is to suppose that a man of feeling, honour, and honesty, can behold these things, and yet talk of them as if they did not violate the laws of God and man, and outrage the feelings of every right-minded individual who rightly appreciates them.”

*Dr. Lushington, at Exeter Hall, April 23, 1831.*

“It had been asked, how far the system of West-India slavery was consistent with the maxims of mercy, and the

general tendency of Christianity. He held the very question to be an affront—the very thought to be a slander—the very supposition to shew an utter ignorance of the mercy, and benevolence, and power, which, for these six thousand years, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ has been developing in his different dispensations of religion, till it has been poured forth in all its glory in the New Testament dispensation, and which taught us that God is love, and he that dwelleth in light, dwelleth in God, and God in him. Before the grace and loveliness of Christianity—the tenderness which it infuses—the kindness it inculcates—the laws of equity and justice which it imposes—before the objects and designs of God in redemption ; before all these—West-Indian slavery appeared to be one of the most intolerable and flagrant and deeply-debasing crimes that can attach to a nation bearing the sacred and glorious name of Christian. He desired to separate himself from any man professing Christianity, who could hold the lawfulness of West-India slavery.”

*The Rev. Daniel Wilson, at Exeter Hall, April 23, 1831.*

“ Our religion is not a religion to teach slaves to kiss their chains ; but a religion to teach freemen how to use their freedom.”

*Rev. R. Watson, at Exeter Hall.*

### *Consistency of Slavery with equity, justice, and good conscience.*

Speaking of his slaves in the deed of manumission, Mr. NOTTINGHAM says, considering that liberty is their right and property, which in equity, justice, and good conscience, ought to be restored to them ; and having a testimony in my heart against the iniquitous practice of enslaving our fellow men, &c. therefore he proceeds to grant them freedom, and to bestow upon them some landed property, in order to supply them with the means of subsistence.

*Review of the Quarterly Review, published for Hatchard, 1824.*

### *Consistency of Slavery with Religion.*

In the year 1170, a synod was held at Armagh, by the indefatigable Primate GALERIUS. The object of their meeting was, to enquire into the cause of the invasion of their country by strangers, and what offence they had given to God, to draw down on them such a national visitation. On mature deliberation, they concluded that it was to scourge the sins of the people in general, but in particular, the sin of buying English children as slaves from the pirates and merchants who frequented their shores. The English on the opposite coast had been, it seems, in the practice of selling their children and kinsfolk, and the Irish of purchasing them; and this unchristian practice was deemed by the Irish ecclesiastics an offence of sufficient magnitude to draw down on them the just vengeance of God. They therefore by unanimous consent, decreed, that all those already in bondage should be liberated, and that the practice in future should be entirely prohibited. A more illustrious instance of rectitude, both in religious sentiment and kindly feeling, is not to be found in history. This is, perhaps, the *first* example of the formal abolition of the slave trade in any country, for which the world are indebted to the Catholic clergy of Ireland. It is not generally known, that the Quakers of that country were the first to set a similar example in modern times; their resolutions to that effect, at the General Meeting held in Dublin, in 1727, having preceded by thirty years a similar one in London.\*

*The History of Ireland, by John O'Driscoll,  
From the Eclectic Review, January, 1828, p. 8.*

One of the presidents of the United States deprecated a Servile War in America, because there was no attribute of God to which they could appeal on behalf of a master contending with his slave.

\* Whitelaw and Walsh's History of Dublin, vol. ii. page 834.

Knowing this, that the Law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient, for the ungodly and for sinners, for men-stealers, &c.

*Paul to Timothy, chapter 1.*

Now in all Courts of Justice the Receiver is accounted as bad as the thief.

### *Temporary and Permanent Expediency.*

I can never consent to oppose a temporary and apparent expediency to those eternal obligations which religion founds upon the law of God, and which morality derives from an expediency which is permanent and universal. I will not attempt to prevent the Foreign slave trade, by refusing justice to the slaves in his Majesty's dominions.

*Instructions of Lord Goderich to the Governors of Crown Colonies, November 5, 1831.*

### *Mercy of Roman Catholics to their Slaves.*

Britain and Protestantism, may well blush at this, when it is known, that in the colonies of Catholic states, the Saturday, and not the Sunday, is given to the slaves to work their grounds, and to supply their wants; that Sunday is *there* a day of *rest*, and of *worship* also; and that in addition to this the numerous Saints' days in the Romish calendar, affording many holidays to the slave, in the course of the year, give a further amelioration to his labours and additional opportunities of acquainting himself with religion.

*A Defence of the Wesleyan Methodist Missions, in the West-Indies, by Richard Watson.*

### *Opinion and consistent conduct of the Quakers.*

The Quakers soon saw the incompatibility of slavery with Christianity, and emancipated their slaves. In the year 1787, there did not remain a single slave in the possession of any member of the Society of Friends. *The Tourist.*

*Opinion on Slavery in the Hour of Death.*

The late Rev. MATTHEW TATE, of Beaufort, in South Carolina, in a Codicil to Will, made three days before his death, in his own hand writing, inserted the following words. I enjoin it upon my executors to publish it in all the Newspapers in Charleston, that I departed this life under the full persuasion, that if I died in possession of a slave, I should not conceive myself admissible into the kingdom of heaven.

*The Times, Saturday, June 4, 1831.*

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NOTE 5.—PAGE 4.

*Free Labour in Cuba.*

Havannah now ranks among the first commercial ports in the world.—A considerable number of the small proprietors cultivate their properties without the aid of slaves. Men thus habituated to the climate—many of them natives—form an admirable supply of militia. The increase of agriculture and commerce has been productive of a proportional increase of revenue; this HUMBOLT states as high as one million sterling. There has been a large surplus revenue applicable to local purposes, or to the more general objects of Spain.

*Humbolt's Political and Statistical account of Cuba.*

*Foreign Quarterly Review, vol. 3, p. 400.*

*Comparison of Free and Slave Labour.*

And now, perhaps, our readers may be beginning to feel tired of the vexatious subject of political economy; and the signal failure of such a writer as Dr. CHALMERS, may seem to justify the scepticism so prevalent in regard to

the utility, or at least the attainableness of the science. All such doubters we invite to turn from the dull paradoxes, of Dr. CHALMERS, to the delightful political economy made easy of Professor HARRIET MARTINEAU, the most accomplished and engaging lecturer on abstruse subjects of science, that has taken the chair since the fair NOVELLA D'ANDREA, who lectured for her father, in the University of Bologna, behind a curtain,

'drawn before her,

Lest, if her charms were seen, the students  
Should let their young eyes wander o'er her,  
And quite forget their jurisprudence.

Whether our fair Dotteressa be charming or homely, old or young, matron or spinster, we know not; but this we must say, that she has employed to most admirable purpose very extraordinary talents; extraordinary, not because these Tales of hers are in themselves beautifully simple, yet extremely touching, full of character, and at once dramatic and graphic,—for we have many female tale-writers in the present day, who have discovered similar knowledge of human nature and fertility of imagination; nor yet, because her notions indicate a clearness and comprehension of thought in relation to abstruse subjects of inquiry, a masculine faculty of abstraction, with a feminine power of illustration, rarely united; but because the combinations of these qualifications for her difficult task is a phenomenon.

*Illustrations of Political Economy, by Harriet Martineau.*

#### EXTRACT.

##### *Summary of Principles.*

“Free and slave labour are equally owned by the capitalist.

“Where the labourer is not held as capital, the capitalist pays for labour only.

“Where the labourer is held as capital, the capitalist not only pays a much higher price for an equal quantity of

labour, but also for waste, negligence, and theft, on the part of the labourer.

“ Capital is thus sunk, which ought to be reproduced.

“ As the supply of slave labour does not rise and fall with the wants of the capitalist, like that of free labour, he employs his occasional surplus on works which could be better done by brute labour or machinery.

“ By rejecting brute labour, he refuses facilities for convertible husbandry, and for improving the labour of his slaves by giving them animal food.

“ By rejecting machinery, he declines the most direct and complete method of saving labour.

“ Thus, again, capital is sunk which ought to be reproduced.

“ In order to make up for this loss of capital to slave owners, bounties and prohibitions are granted in their behalf by government; the waste committed by certain capitalists abroad, being thus paid out of the earnings of those at home.

“ Sugar being the production especially protected, every thing is sacrificed by planters to the growth of sugar. The land is exhausted by perpetual cropping, the least possible portion of it is tilled for food, the slaves are worn out by over work, and their numbers decrease in proportion to the scantiness of their food, and the oppressiveness of their toil.

“ When the soil is so far exhausted as to place its owner out of reach of the sugar-bounties, more food is raised, less toil inflicted, and the slave population increases.

“ Legislative protection, therefore not only taxes the people at home, but promotes ruin, misery, and death, in the protected colonies.

“ A free trade in sugar would banish slavery altogether, since competition must induce an economy of labour and capital; that is a substitution of free for slave labour.

“ Let us see, then, what is the responsibility of the legislature in this matter.

"The slave system inflicts an incalculable amount of human suffering, for the sake of making a wholesale waste of labour and capital.

"Since the slave system is only supported by legislative protection, the legislature is responsible for the misery caused by direct infliction, and for the injury indirectly occasioned by the waste of labour and capital."

*Part 4, pp. 44-63.*

*No. 43, Eclectic Review, Art. 4. July 2nd. 1832.*

### *The African Colony of Liberia.*

Five years were spent in awakening public attention, in surveying the coast of Africa, and in holding treaties with the natives. At length a purchase was made, at the close of the year 1822, of a quantity of land from the aborigines, on terms similar to those on which WILLIAM PENN purchased Pennsylvania; a vessel being freighted, under the direction of President MONRO, to convey six blacks (who had been accidentally brought from their native country and had been educated in the United States,) back to their homes. The settlement, which at its foundation, consisted of only 34 men and boys, was situated near Cape Massurado, in latitude 6 deg. and 21 min. north, and 10 deg. west longitude. Purchase after purchase had been made of the natives, till at the present time the territory of the independent republic of Liberia extended upwards of 200 miles along the coast. In this territory treaties had been made, the first article of which was, that in future the slave traffic should cease therein, and that nothing but a legitimate commerce should be allowed. The colonists were at present about 2,500 emancipated slaves from the United States, and there were settled around them about 10,000 native allies, who had formerly engaged in trafficking in the bodies of their fellow creatures to the extent of 10,000 annually, but were now peaceful cultivators of the soil, mechanics, merchants, and some of them even

teachers. In Liberia were churches of the Episcopalians, Methodists, Independents, and Baptists; Sunday Schools, and Temperance, Missionary, and Tract Societies had been established; and he held in his hand a number of the *Liberia Herald*, the editor and printers of which were negroes.

*Elliott Cresson, Esq. at a Meeting of the Inhabitants of  
Manchester.*

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#### NOTE 6.—PAGE 4.

#### *Necessity of Slavery.*

“Necessity is pretended, the name under which every enormity is attempted to be justified. And after all, what is the necessity? It has never been proved that the land could not be cultivated there, as it is here, by hired servants. It is said that it could not be cultivated with quite the same conveniency and cheapness, as by the labour of Slaves; by which means a pound of sugar which the planter now sells for sixpence, could not be afforded under sixpence half-penny;—and this is the necessity!”

*Archdeacon Paley.*

#### *Property is everything.*

It has been said to be a common opinion in the West-Indies that property is every thing, and many hold the same opinion in England. Abundant instances may be cited to contravene such a decision; but it will be sufficient to name two. The late DUKES of ORLEANS, and of BOURBON, are reported to have been the richest subjects in Europe. The errors, and the consequent miseries, of both, are sufficiently known. The DUKE of ORLEANS perished on a Scaffold, with the approbation of all mankind. The DUKE of BOURBON died by his own hand. Such are the felicities of the mere possession

of property. It is a curse, or a blessing, to its owner, and to those who are subject to his influence, in exact proportion to the use, or the abuse of it: the possession of Slaves is an abuse.

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NOTE 7.—PAGE 6.

*Labour with insufficient Wages.*

Whatever property exists, or has ever existed, in the Colonies, is the direct fruit of the labour of the slaves. That this labour has never received its due compensation is matter of absolute certainty. Slaves still bear, and have always borne, a high price in the Colonies. Why is it that any man finds it worth his while to purchase a labourer? The answer plainly is, because his labour is worth more than the cost of the maintenance he is to receive.

*Lord Goderich to the Governors of Crown Colonies,  
5th. November, 1831.*

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NOTE 8.—PAGE 7.

*Consequences of the Liberation of Crown Slaves.*

The House is aware, that in 1828, orders were sent out to the Island of Antigua, to emancipate the captured negroes belonging to the Crown, in that island. This was accordingly done, and was immediately followed by a great reduction in the Government expenditure in that Colony, and at the same time no evil has resulted from that measure.

Some years ago, the charge for the maintenance of the captured negroes, in Antigua, was £8,000. per annum; but immediately after their emancipation, this expense was materially reduced, and I am happy to say, that it is not now more than £1,000. a year; this charge also will yearly decrease, as it is principally for the support of those who are old and infirm.

*Extract from a Letter from the Governor of Antigua.*

It affords me much satisfaction in being able to state, that during the five months that have elapsed since the Crown slaves were set at liberty, there has not been a single complaint of their conduct, not a single charge has been brought against any one of them before a magistrate,—not one of them has made application for relief on account of poverty, or other ground; but they have all been occupied industriously in providing for their own maintenance.

The report of the Governor of Antigua, of the 371 captured negroes who were suddenly emancipated, is equally favourable. No confusion resulted from this comparatively large body being liberated, for I believe all of them were enabled to obtain employment.

*Crown Slaves. Annual Charge.*

Jamaica . . . . .	372 . . . . .	1700
Berbice . . . . .	300 . . . . .	500
Mauritius . . . . .	1200 . . . . .	4000
	—	—
	1872	£6200
	—	—

I have not the least doubt in my own mind, that all these slaves will be able to maintain themselves without assistance, and that they will become useful members of the communities to which they belong.

*Extract from a Letter from Mr. Wray to Lord Goderich.*

He concludes with stating, that he anticipates the most beneficial results from the course that he understands has been adopted, of liberating the Crown slaves in the Colonies ; and that he has no doubt they will be able to maintain themselves without any expence to the Government.

*Statement by Lord Viscount Howick, in the House of Commons, 17th. August, 1831.*

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#### NOTE 9.—PAGE 7.

#### CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

##### *Consequences of sudden Emancipation.*

A friend of slavery, asks this question :—Have the friends of immediate emancipation, marked the conduct of the prize negroes, in this colony, who have suddenly acquired liberty? The answer to this question is promptly given as follows :

We speak advisedly :—three thousand prize negroes have received their freedom, 400 in one day ; but not the least difficulty or disorder occurred : servants found masters—masters hired servants ; all gained homes, and at night scarcely an idler was to be seen. In the last month, 150 were liberated under precisely similar circumstances, and with the same result. These facts are within our own observation ; and to state that sudden and abrupt emancipation would create disorder and distress to those you mean to serve, is not reason ; but the plea of any and all men who are adverse to emancipation.

*South African Commercial Advertiser, February 9, 1831.*

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## CONSEQUENCES OF THE EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES.

*Brazil.*

With respect to Brazil, we have the testimony of that correct and diligent inquirer the Rev. Dr. WALSH, that there are in that Province 600,000 enfranchised persons, either Africans, or of African descent, who were either slaves themselves, or are the descendants of slaves. These are represented by him, generally speaking, as well-conducted and industrious persons, who compose indiscriminately different orders of the community. There are among them merchants, farmers, doctors, lawyers, priests, and officers of different ranks. Every considerable town in the interior has regiments composed of them. The benefits arising from them, he adds, have disposed the whites to think of making free the whole negro population, and “abolishing for ever that outrage on the laws of God and man, the condition of a slave.”

*Walsh's Notes on Brazil, vol. 2, p. 365.*

*Cuba.*

In the single Island of Cuba there are also about 150,000 emancipated slaves, or their descendants, whose conduct and whose circumstances form an additional corroboration of the perfect safety to the public peace, and of the benefits to the emancipated individuals themselves, which have attended their deliverance from the yoke of personal bondage.

*Columbia.*

In consequence of the revolution in Columbia, all the slaves who joined the Columbian armies, and who were considerable in number, were declared free; and on the 19th. of July, 1821, a decree of the general congress of Columbia ordained, that from that day forward no slave should be born

in Columbia. A fund was at the same time established for redeeming, from year to year, all who still remained in slavery : —1st. of three-fifths per cent. on all property of those who die, leaving lawful descendants ; 2nd. of one per cent. on all property of persons dying and leaving lawful progenitors ; 3rd. of three per cent. on the property of persons dying and leaving only collateral heirs ; and 4th. of ten per cent. on all property bequeathed to those not of kin. And it was further decreed, that this tax should continue to be exacted, and to be applied exclusively to this single object, until slavery should be extinct in Columbia. The period of that extinction, we understand, is now rapidly approaching, its progress having been greatly accelerated by the voluntary enfranchisement of their slaves by many proprietors. All distinctions of colour among the free have also entirely ceased.

### *Mexico.*

Our readers are already well acquainted with the remarkable case of Mexico, as given in the Report of Mr. WARD, the Mexican Envoy, from which it appears that extensive plantations of sugar and coffee are worked in that Province by gangs of emancipated slaves, voluntarily enfranchised by the owners both of them and of the soil, and who now employ them in labouring for wages, chiefly by the piece, in carrying on cultivation, and in particular the cultivation and manufacture of sugar. To the interesting details which Mr. WARD has given on this subject, he subjoins the following striking observation : “The most remarkable circumstance in this case is the total abolition of slavery, in a district where such a mass of colonial fruits is produced ; and the success with which the introduction of free labour has been attended. It is this which has induced me to lay these observations before his Majesty’s Government.”

*See Reporter, No. 51, p. 56.*

*Mexico.*

Mexico, in the last year, a year too for her of distress and difficulty, has issued a decree proclaiming every slave within her territory to be actually freed from bondage.

*Anti-Slavery Reporter, for January, 1830, No. 56, p. 172.*

*Mexico and Columbia.*

On the 15th. of September, 1829, a decree was issued by the Mexican government, declaring that slavery is for ever abolished in the republic ; and that consequently all those individuals, who, until this day, looked upon themselves as slaves, *are free*. We have never heard that any of these decrees of universal emancipation, whether immediate, as in Mexico, or prospective, as in Columbia, has ever been attended with any disturbance of the public peace, or with any injury to the emancipated slaves themselves.

*Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 70, p. 462.*

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NOTE 10.—PAGE 7.

**ST. DOMINGO, HISPANIOLA, HAYTI.**

Erroneous statements respecting this Island have been so numerous, that it appears desirable to extract some particulars of its recent history and present condition.

It is well watered, and affords almost every variety of vegetable produce which can promote the luxury or comfort of man. It is now in possession of the blacks, who are intent on domestic improvement, and have every where established Schools.

*Edinburgh Gazetteer.*

*Recent history and present condition of Hayti.*

The colony flourished under TOUSSAINT. The whites lived happily and in peace upon their estates, and the negroes continued to work for them.

*Malenfant.*

The colony, marched, as by enchantment, towards its ancient splendour ; cultivation prospered ; every day produced perceptible proofs of its progress. The city of the Cape and the plantations of the north rose up again visibly to the eye.

*General Lacroix.*

The preface states in substance that for a long time St. Domingo had been a prey to disorders and was verging to destruction, when the genius of TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE, by the most judicious combinations, by wisely framed plans, and by actions the most energetic, rescued it, at one and the same time, both from its external and internal foes ; suppressed the germs of discord ; caused abundance to succeed to wretchedness, the love of peace and industry to civil war and idleness, and security to terror ; and subjected the whole to the authority of France.

*Constitution given to St. Domingo, by Delegates from the Departments assembled at Port-au-prince.*

General VINCENT quitted St. Domingo in 1801, and, at that time, he gave the strongest assurance to BUONAPARTE that no change of system was required, or would be beneficial ; that every thing was going on well ; that the white proprietors were in peaceable possession of their estates, that cultivation was making rapid progress, and that the blacks were industrious, orderly, and happy.

And such was actually the state in which, in February, 1802, LECLERC's expedition found St. Domingo. He came instructed to restore the ancient regime ; he nevertheless announced, on his arrival, a very different purpose.

In a few weeks from this time, namely in the month of June, 1802, LECLERC, having advantageously disposed matters for his purpose, (the native troops, and their principal officers, being so distributed as he judged would place them completely in his power, and the cultivators being dispersed on the plantations,) suddenly caused TOUSSAINT, and his family, to be arrested and shipped off for France. At the same time the most active measures were resorted to for disarming the native troops, and for either deporting or savagely butchering their best and most influential officers. These events operated like an electric spark on the whole black population of the colony, which was ere long in full insurrection. The native officers and troops, who had not already fallen victims to LECLERC's treachery, escaped and joined the insurgents; and conflagration, and unsparing massacre, and the refusal of all quarter, became the regular order of the renewed hostilities on both sides, to which the French, who were the aggressors in this war of mutual vengeance and extermination, added horrors of a still more revolting character. Their prisoners were drowned by hundreds in the harbours, till pestilence went forth from their floating carcasses;—or they were thrown alive, men, women, and children, to blood-hounds, to be torn limb from limb and devoured. Disease also began to make dreadful ravages among the French. LECLERC fell a victim to it as early as the close of October, 1802, and before the end of the year the French troops were so reduced, and so hemmed in and confined to their fortified places on the coast, that all idea of conquest seemed hopeless. The war however was still carried on with the most savage fury on both sides, the French calling in the aid of large packs of blood-hounds from Cuba, so that almost the whole of the Island, with the exception of the mountain fastnesses and the forts, became one unvarying scene of carnage and desolation. The buildings and sugar works were every where destroyed, and nothing

was left in the plains, or accessible parts of the Island, which could afford shelter or sustenance to the invaders. They had now to depend wholly on supplies from without, and famine soon began to add its ravages to those of disease and the sword. At length, in the month of December, 1803, the Island was finally abandoned, a mere handful of the French troops escaping the destruction which had already overtaken about 60,000 of their fellows.

Desolation could hardly be conceived more complete than prevailed, in 1804 and 1805, over all those parts of the colony which had formerly been covered with plantations; and it is well known how soon the rank vegetation of a tropical climate, converts the neglected plantation into mere jungle.

Is it to be wondered at, that under these circumstances, Hayti should have ceased to export tropical produce? And how perfectly absurd therefore, are all the reasonings which, by a comparison of the exports from that Island in 1789 with those of 1805, would endeavour to establish the inaptitude of a black population for productive industry! To secure the means of subsistence in case of another invasion, and to defeat that invasion if attempted, became now the grand objects of Haytian solicitude. It was made a fundamental law of the state, that the moment an enemy should begin to debark on the shores of the Island, that moment every town on the coast, and every building on the plain, should disappear, and the whole of the population betake themselves, the women to the mornes, and the men to arms. And this state of uncertainty and peril, necessarily fatal to all schemes and efforts of prospective industry, continued to operate, in a greater or less degree, until the year 1826, when France first renounced her right to attempt again the subjugation of her ancient colony.

Food of all kinds, animal and vegetable, is four times cheaper here than in Jamaica.

*Communications from a Traveller in Hayti.*

As soon, however, as the acknowledgment of their independence, by the once sovereign state, placed them beyond the necessity of resorting to that system of desperate defence, which, by the fiftieth article of their constitution, has been made an essential element of their liberty, "that at the first sound of the alarm gun, the towns should disappear, and the nation should rise in arms," houses were erected of elegant character, and of permanent materials.

All the productions are put in with the plough: this implement, at one place, in turning up the soil, opens the cane holes, and at another, drills the trenches for the maize and patata.

In the instance of our visit, Mr. ROPER exhibited to us its practical operation in unearthing patatas. As it turned up the furrows of the soil, so it bared them to those who picked them up. Two persons followed with a basket, and collecting the patatas, cast them into a light cart that advanced with the ploughman through the field. Nothing could be conceived more expeditious and effectual than this system. The work that was done in five minutes must have required the labour of an hour of the usual mode of the hoe. The harrow was afterwards brought to pulverize the soil, to disengage whatever might remain in the furrowed clods, and to rake out the weeds, which were thus collected with facility, dried in the sun, and burnt on the spot. I tried the plough with my own hand, and though unskilled in this sort of labour, found it perform its work with perfect ease.

In the process of irrigation the usual cast of the furrows formed intervals for the streaming waters. When small canals were required to be cut, the plough performed the office of channelling the earth. The waters flowed from the sluices through the beds where they were required, and a temporary dam of the loose mould confined them where necessary, or excluded them where they were not wanted. The soil being rendered thoroughly porous by the arable process to which it

was subjected, plentifully absorbed the refreshing moisture, so that every leaf of herbage, in a season unusually droughty, had the appearance of enjoying the influence of perpetual showers.

The island of Jamaica does not exhibit a plantation better established than Chateau Blond : whether we consider the resources of the land, or the mechanical economy by which those resources are commanded, it is a splendid establishment.

Every thing is new, the mills, the boiling house, the aqueducts, the cottage residence, all are the productions of a few years of slow but constant labour, unassisted by any pecuniary loan, and unencumbered by a mortgage. In the difficulty of obtaining a number of labourers to get in the crop of an estate, the proprietor of Chateau Blond has decided that it will be judicious to accelerate the speed of the boiling house, by increasing the products of the mill. With this view he has availed himself on either hand of water and steam machinery, it being easier to boil quick, so as to check fermentation, than to grind quick so as to give full occupation to the boilers. As these mills do their work simultaneously, the souring of the canes by accumulation is avoided.

While we were seated here the plantation bell sounded the summons of two o'clock, the signal for such as had occupation to resume it. Instantly we heard the carpenter's hammers and mason's trowels renew the sound of labour, and every one without any altercation or a murmur were again busy at their appointed toil.

The sugar with which his refinery is supplied, is entirely drawn from his adjoining estate. The establishment is very large. On the respective floors of the building, we saw the process of claying the raw or muscavado sugar, and that of refining it, and forming it into the lump sugar of commerce. We observed some loaves, whose whiteness, dryness, and transparency, and smallness of grain, shewed the matured perfection of his process—an art which he boasts to have

acquired, in a country where almost the simplest elements of sugar making had been lost in the anarchy of the revolution, without any insight into that of other countries. His liqueur distilleries occupied a portion of the same premises.

The Haytian proprietor, I am told, never has to complain that the estate is pilfered.

*Communications from a Traveller in Hayti, 25 June, 1830.*

The large sum exacted by France for relinquishing her claim, obstructs the progress of Haytian improvement.

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NOTE 11.—PAGE 9.

*The Fate of Ten Millions of Men.*

Ten millions of negroes have been carried across the ocean, to support a population which, it is said, at present does not amount to more than eight hundred thousand souls. Ten families planted in those islands three hundred years ago, when the slave trade commenced, under the auspices of freedom and of nature, with the advantages of a fertile soil, and a climate congenial to their constitutions, might by this time have produced a greater number. Who can doubt it? Within half this time, a handful of Englishmen have spread themselves over an immense continent—have converted a wilderness into a fertile country—have given battle to the most powerful people of Europe—and through a sea of toils and troubles, have risen to the rank of thirteen independent States. The English were free-men; the unhappy Africans were slaves.

*Edinburgh Review, April, 1832, No. 109, Article 6  
Memoir of the Life, Writings, and Correspondence of  
Dr. Currie, page 123.*

## NOTE 12.—PAGE 9.

*Decrease of Slaves on Sugar Estates.  
Increase on Coffee Plantations.*

We find from these returns, one sugar estate with 663 slaves, on which there has been an average annual decrease of ten. On another, with 242 slaves, a decrease of fifteen; and on a third, called Blue Mountain, the still more fearful waste of human life discovered, in an average decrease of seventeen negroes annually out of 314—or eighty-five slaves, being equal to one-fifth of the whole population, cut off in the space of five years! The estates of the heirs of \* \* \* \* situated in the parish of Trelawny, shew a diminution of numbers, within the same period, amounting to two hundred, out of a population of 2809. But on the coffee plantations, where night work is unknown, mark the contrast: on a plantation having 214 slaves, the average increase for five years is three per cent. per annum; and taking an extensive parish, the staple commodity of which is coffee, the average increase throughout is not less than three per cent. per annum. Can there be a more convincing proof of the shocking waste to which human life is subject on sugar estates, (and owing mainly to the system of night work,) than this?

*Letters to the Duke of Wellington, on Colonial Slavery,  
by the Rev. J. M. Trew, Rector of St. Thomas in  
the East, Jamaica.*

*Decrease of Slaves.*

After some allusions to Mr. MALTHUS's Theory of Population, and the facts that population in the United States doubles in about twenty-five years, and in New Spain in twenty-seven or twenty-eight years, and in the old countries of Europe in forty or fifty years; the writer thus proceeds:—

But what must be the extent of the influence of peculiar causes of mortality, in a country where the labour of a few days is sufficient to obtain a supply for the wants of a whole year ; and, with reference to a population, to whom, in consequence, mere prudential restraint, on account of the want of subsistence, is unknown ; when we find that the great mass of this very population is not increasing, so as to double in fifty, or even a hundred years, but decreasing at a rate by which it will be utterly extinct in about a hundred ? The fact is one of the most appalling nature—but fact it is. The slave population of Jamaica, upon the sugar estates, forming the great bulk of the people, is, we are satisfied, actually dying off at nearly that rate.

*Christian Record, No. 8.*

### *Slaves not treated like Beasts of Burden.*

It is commonly said that slaves are treated like beasts of burden ; but this is an error. In England, if an owner were to confine his horse, and to lash him till the skin and the flesh were torn, he would be punishable, in pursuance of an Act of Parliament, for cruelty.

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NOTE 13.—PAGE 11.

### *Danger of deferring the Emancipation of Slaves.*

May not the dangers arising from sickening delays and deferred hopes in case of the slaves, and from continued excitement and irritation on the part of the dominant class, be far more imminent than any dangers which could reasonably be anticipated from the communication of freedom to the

slaves by the authority of the state? Any contumacious resistance of the masters to the determination of the legislature might easily be obviated; and as for a wanton and wholly objectless insurrection on the part of the emancipated slaves, an insurrection against the very power which had already conferred upon them the blessing of freedom—conferred upon them all which they could hope to gain by insurrection—all for the sake of which they could have any motive to commit a single act of rebellion, or even of insubordination—it seems to be the very extravagance of fear to apprehend it.

*Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 75, page 104.*

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NOTE 14.—PAGE 11.

*Consequences of the Emancipation of Slaves.*

It will not be necessary for us to repeat, in this place, the facts and the arguments which, in our third volume, No. 70, we have already adduced in support of a directly opposite conclusion,—but referring the venerable society to that article, we think we have a right to challenge them to produce a single proof, in support of their confident and unhesitating assumption, that the extinction of personal slavery, by law, and with the willing and concurrent consent of the master, will be productive of the disastrous effects they have chosen to ascribe to it. We know of no such evidence, we never have heard of such evidence; all the evidence indeed being the other way. We think, therefore, that we may fairly call on them, and on all who would retard, for a single day, the deliverance of their fellow creatures and fellow subjects from bondage, to produce proof, if they can, which shall satisfy the public, and their own consciences, that an

emancipation of slaves, (however "sudden and indiscriminate,") proceeding from legal authorities of the state, and not only unresisted, but cheerfully acquiesced in by the master, has ever, in any one instance, led either to public disorder, or to the unhappiness and discomfort of the slaves, or to the deterioration of their moral, intellectual, and political condition.

*Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 91, page 490.*

We have now shewn that there are already, in our West-India Colonies, 100,000 emancipated slaves, or their descendants, who have been admitted to the enjoyment of their personal liberty, without abusing it either to the disturbance of the public peace, or their own detriment; and who, instead of retrograding into barbarism, are advancing daily in wealth, civilization, and knowledge.

We know of no single case in which an emancipation of slaves, proceeding from the legal authorities of the states, and unresisted by violence on the part of the master, has led either to public disorder, or to the unhappiness or discomfort of the slave, or to the deterioration of his moral, intellectual, and political condition.

*Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 70, page 455.*

"I believe the only effectual remedy for existing evils to be the entire emancipation of the slaves. It may be objected that such a scheme would infallibly fail, and that the negroes would wander through the country and become unsettled. I strongly doubt all this. They would have the same motive to work with the English labourer. They have wives, children, and aged parents. They would have every thing to attach them to their domicile, and to stimulate them to exertion. They are not the semi-barbarians so often represented by interested writers. To allege that they are not ripe for such a change is perfectly absurd."

*Extract from the Letter of a Gentleman long Resident in Jamaica.*

It was not his intention, in the least degree, to depart from that spirit of calm and unanswerable argument which was adopted by his honourable friend, on a late occasion, in Parliament, and from which he had not departed on the present occasion ; for he (Sir JAMES) was so far from being opposed to the English proprietors in the West-Indies, that one of his chief objects was, to provide for the safety of the European inhabitants there, to rescue them from those dangers which every impartial eye must see suspended over their heads, to deliver them from those calamities which will be fatal to their lives and fortunes owing to the effects of the present system on the character and morality of the slaves. It was for the sake of every interest—of masters as well as slaves—that he earnestly desired as speedy an emancipation as it was possible to adopt. It was in order to prevent one portion of the human race in the West-Indies from being degraded and destroyed, and another from being barbarised—to preserve the one from bodily, and the other from moral evils.

*Sir James Mackintosh, at a Meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society and its Friends, at Exeter Hall, April 23, 1831.*

I verily, and in my conscience believe, that the time is now come, when, with prudent precautions as to the manner, every slave may receive his freedom without the minutest chance of injury to the rights or the properties of the other inhabitants. Nay, I go infinitely farther :—I believe, as far as relates to the property of the white inhabitants, their interest will be most materially improved. Instead of living, as now, in perpetual fear and agitation :—Instead of exacting an unwilling and precarious labour under the influence of the lash, they would then have a body of labourers, who, if paid but a very small proportion in the way of hire, would discharge a double duty with satisfaction to themselves and

benefit to their proprietors. And this is the real state of human nature. There must be some motive to actuate man. You now actuate him by the fear of the lash, and, alas! by the infliction of it. Make him a free man, and reward him for his labour, and you hold out to him the very motive which God has designed to actuate mankind—the hope of benefiting himself and improving his condition.

*Dr. Lushington, at Exeter Hall, April 23, 1831.*

### *Speedy Emancipation.*

The result of the whole is a settled conviction, that emancipation may be effected, not only without the slightest infringement of the public peace, but with decided advantage to the real proprietors of the Colonial soil, provided they will only cordially lend themselves to the introduction of the better system which we recommend.

*Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 75, page 103.*

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#### NOTE 15.—PAGE 13.

### *Present support of very young, and of old and infirm Slaves.*

As for the young children, and the old and infirm, about whom, in case of emancipation, so many humane fears are expressed, be it known that at the present moment, upon the plantations generally, still taking Jamaica as our example, these do not now derive their support from the masters. The young children derive it from their parents, and the old and infirm from their relations, chiefly their children. The means of continuing to afford that support would evidently not be diminished, but greatly increased by emancipation.

*Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 70, page 475.*

*Slavery the cause of West-Indian Distress.*

The existence of severe commercial distress amongst all classes of society connected with the West-Indies, is unhappily but too evident. Yet what is the just inference from this admitted fact? not, certainly, that the proprietary body should yield themselves to despair, and thus render the evil incurable; but rather that we should deliberately retrace the steps of that policy which has had so disastrous an issue. Without denying the concurrence of many causes towards the result which we all so much deplore, it is obvious that the great and permanent source of that distress, which almost every page of the history of the West-Indies records, is to be found in the institution of *Slavery*. It is vain to hope for long continued prosperity in any country in which the people are not dependent on their own voluntary industry for their support, in which the land and its cultivators are habitually purchased and sold on credit, and in which the management of that property is almost invariably confided, by an absent proprietary, to resident agents or to mortgagors who are proprietors only in name. Without presuming to censure individuals for the share they may have taken in maturing this system, I cannot but regard the system itself as the perennial spring of those distresses of which, not at present merely, but during the whole of the last fifty years, the complaints have been so frequent and so just. Regarding the present orders as a measured and cautious, but at the same time a decided, advance towards the ultimate extinction of slavery, I must, on that account, regard it as tending to the cure of the pecuniary embarrassments which it is said to enhance.

*Instructions of Lord Goderich to the Governors of Crown Colonies, November 5, 1831.*

## NOTE 17.—PAGE 16.

## FREEDOM OF INFANTS.

*American Slavery.*

I purpose fully to divide the House on a motion, that every negro child, born after the 1st. of January, 1832, shall be free. (Loud cheers.) They say, do not emancipate the slaves suddenly. They are not prepared. They will revolt. Are they afraid of the insurrection of the infants? Or do they think that the mother will rise up in rebellion as she hugs her little freeman to her breast, and thinks that he will one day become her protector? Or will she teach him to be her avenger? O no, there can be no such pretence. We are responsible for what we do, and also for the influence of our example. Think you that the United States of America would be able to hold up their heads among the nations? The United States, who shook off their allegiance to their Sovereign, and declared that it was the right of every man to enjoy freedom; of every man, whether black, white, or red. Who made this declaration before the God of armies, and then, when they had succeeded in their enterprize, forgot their vow, and made slaves, and used the lash and the chain. Would they dare to take their place among the nations, if it were not that England countenances them in the practice? And then look at Mexico. There the slaves were liberated, not in a time of peace when they could be watched and guarded, no, but in a time of revolution, and of war. Did they rise up to cut the throats of their former owners? Oh, no, they entered into the society of freemen with a feeling of generous and deep oblivion of the past, and continue among the most useful and peaceful of the inhabitants—(Cheers.) with this example—with the splendid instance of one whose name and exploits would long be held sacred in the annals of freedom, the

memorable Bolivar, who commenced his glorious career of liberty by giving freedom to 800 negroes that he possessed himself—sacrificing his fortune, and consolidating the civil institutions of his country—and who concluded with the sacred words, “finally I beseech my countrymen never to allow any distinction in colour to make any political distinction between them.” (Cheers.) With these examples—and with the example of Britain before her, America could not long resist; and we would thus not only have the happiness of redeeming 800,000 of our fellow subjects from slavery, but give to mankind an example that will make the existence of the system of slavery elsewhere wholly impossible. (Great cheering.)

*Mr. O'Connell, at Exeter Hall, April 23, 1831.*

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NOTE 18.—PAGE 17.

COMPENSATION.

In 1807, when a bill for abolishing the slave trade had already passed the House of Lords, and was brought into the House of Commons by EARL GREY, then LORD HOWICK, the West-Indians came forward, as now, to claim compensation. Utter ruin to all their interests—the total loss of their income and their property—they said would be the inevitable consequences of the measure. Not only would there be insurrection and massacre throughout the whole of our slave colonies, (the very language now employed to frighten the public,) but indemnity would be required to the extent of at least one hundred millions. They requested to be heard by counsel, and counsel were heard at the bar of the House of Commons, as they had also been at the House of Lords, in support of their extravagant claims; and their cause was ably

pleaded by Mr. DALLAS, the late Chief Justice, Mr. ALEXANDER, the late Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and Mr. SCARLETT, the late Attorney General, now SIR JAMES SCARLETT. But what, on that occasion, was the language of VISCOUNT HOWICK? It was to this effect: he did not deny that the apprehended loss which this measure might eventually cause, might become a fair question of future consideration. Let those who may conceive themselves entitled to demand compensation submit their case to the House, and if that case should be established, the House would never be backward in listening to the claims of justice. He stated this as a general principle. The West-Indians, however, were not satisfied with this assurance, and Mr. MANNING, in giving notice that he should proceed to move for a Committee to consider of the compensation to be granted, in the event of the Bill passing, to those whose interests would be affected by it, begged to know from LORD HOWICK, whether his Majesty's Ministers were authorised to assent to such a proceeding? LORD HOWICK's reply was, that it was contrary to the practice of Parliament to declare, *before hand*, what might be the amount of compensation to be granted for possible losses by any general measures of political regulation or national policy which Parliament might adopt, and that therefore, he was not authorised to consent to such a committee. The bill accordingly passed without any express provision being made, beyond this general verbal assurance, for compensating the eventual sufferers. The doors of Parliament however were left completely open to their representations. And what has been the result? To this hour, after a lapse of twenty-four years, not only has not a single claim for compensation been established by any one of these then claimants; but not one has even been preferred. And yet the West-Indians were quite as loud in their clamours, and quite as confident in their statements in 1792, and 1807, as they now are in 1831.

Is it not the part then both of justice and common sense to say in this, as in the former case—we do not deny the right of the planters to prefer and to establish their claim to be compensated for any injury they may sustain from the great measure of national justice and policy, of converting the slaves into free labourers. We only maintain, as in the case of the slave trade, that the injury should first be made to appear, should be stated and proved, and that then it should be considered fairly and equitably; assured that Parliament in that case will not be deaf to the claims of justice.

*Anti-Slavery Reporter.*

I should think it as reasonable in a London merchant, to enter into a laborious discussion on the nature and value of a paper currency before he paid his acceptance, as for this great Christian nation to be deliberating for years, on the incommensurable nature of moral and physical qualities of a set of its injured and oppressed subjects, before it extends to them that relief which, by every law divine and human, it is bound to extend to them.

*Mr. Macaulay to Mr. Horton, November 28, 1827.*

Although Mr. BURNETT had drawn a very accurate comparison between the condition of the Egyptian and West-Indian bondmen, there was one point he had overlooked, and one of which we hear a great deal, namely, the subjects of compensation. Now there really was compensation in the former case, for the bondmen of the Egyptians went out laden with jewels of silver and gold. This was the compensation given in the case of the Egyptian slaves—and it was given precisely as it should be. He was a friend to equitable compensation—a little to those who suffer a little—and a great deal to those unfortunate slaves who have suffered so much. (Great applause.)

*Mr. Buxton, at Exeter Hall.*

We shall now confine our view to the simple question of the money which the nation must sacrifice, if, on a full view of all the circumstances of this complicated case, the planters should establish their title to be paid the full market value of every slave they now possess.

In the year 1823, a very intelligent planter of Jamaica, Mr. FOSTER BARHAM, the possessor himself at that time of about 765 slaves, since reduced to about 730, published a calm, and on the whole a temperate pamphlet on this subject, in which he endeavoured to impress his brother planters with the necessity of an early compromise of their claims, feeling, as he did, a firm conviction that slavery could not long outlive the growing force of public opinion. He seems to have taken great pains to ascertain what was, at that time, the average income arising to the slave proprietary from the labour of their slaves, and he fixed it at the rate of three pounds per annum for each slave, young and old, strong and feeble, male and female. According to the estimate, therefore, of this acute and interested witness, the net return on the capital invested in our slave colonies, whether in slaves, in the land tilled by those slaves, or in the buildings and other materials required for the purpose of culture and manufacture, might be fairly reckoned at a rate not exceeding three pounds sterling for each slave. Taking the number of slaves in all our slave colonies, including the Cape of Good Hope and the Mauritius, to be 800,000, this would make the net annual income of the whole of the slave proprietary, to be £2,400,000.

Considering the interest which the author of this estimate obviously had in raising it as high as his upright mind would allow him to do, we may fairly assume that, if closely investigated, it would be found to be above the truth rather than below it. It is notorious also that since 1823, the price of almost every article of colonial produce has materially declined. We seem warranted therefore in reducing his estimate, and in taking, instead of his three pounds, only two

pounds ten shillings for each slave, which would leave for the annual aggregate of income the sum of two millions sterling. This sum, however, being derived from colonial possessions, where (putting out of view, distance and insecurity, and other draw-backs,) interest is never lower than six per cent. cannot be regarded, in order to be realized in this country, as worth more than fifteen years purchase, or thirty millions sterling. Now even if the whole of this sum were to be converted, at par, into a three and a half per cent. stock, as an indemnity fund, the annual dividend payable upon it would not exceed £1,050,000. a year. But in fact it would be only that portion of the whole which was derived from the slaves, (exclusive of the land, houses, &c. which would still remain in the possession and usufruct of their proprietors,) that would require to be thus indemnified, and this could not exceed one half of the whole sum, or £525,000. a year. And it would be very extraordinary, if with the command of that abundance of free labour which would be the effect of emancipation, and with the increased demand for land which the altered circumstances of the mass of the community must create, the planter were not, by such a payment, amply indemnified for all, and for much more than all, he had been deprived of by the conversion of his slaves into free labourers.

But even such an indemnity may not satisfy the slave owners. We must be paid, they may say, the market value of all our slaves. We reply, be it so ; and then we enquire, what, even on that principle, would be the probable extent of the compensation ? We have carefully examined every official document containing data on which to fix the average market value of slaves, young and old, male and female, robust and feeble, healthy and diseased, skilled and unskilled, in the various British slave colonies belonging to the Crown, and we do not hesitate to pronounce it, on an average of the last fifteen or twenty years, to be considerably below £30. sterling a head. At present it is probably much less, and is certainly,

under all the circumstances of the case, not likely to increase. Now, if we take the average market value of slaves to be even as high as £30. each, the aggregate amount of the value of the whole 800,000 would not exceed £24,000,000. ; a sum, which converted, at par, into a three and a half per cent. stock, would require an annual dividend of exactly £840,000. But how, it may be asked, is this country, already overburdened with taxation, to pay £840,000. or even £525,000. a year ? We reply, that even the larger sum is not more than two-thirds, and the smaller sum not more than one half, of what it now costs us in bounties and protecting duties to bolster up this criminal and profitless system. And that, too, is independent of all the evils resulting from ruinous monopoly in checking our commercial intercourse with the British dominions in the East, with China, and the Indian Archipelago ; and, in short, with the whole of the tropical world besides. It is independent, also, of the cost of naval and military expenditure, of British life, and British treasure, which is required to enforce, at the bayonet's point, the despotism of the slave holder. And it is moreover independent of all the demoralizing influences on our population at home and abroad, and especially on the master and the slave ; and of all the load of conscious guilt, and the awful consequences of that consciousness, which the continued toleration of this profligate and noxious system entails upon us.

*Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 75, pages 95, 96, 97.*

### *Consistency of the Quakers practice with their opinions.*

It is curious that the Quakers, so far from seeking compensation for the loss of their slaves, actually gave compensation to the slaves for the injury which had been done them by holding them in slavery. They calculated what would have been due to the slaves as wages, over and

above food and clothing, from the commencement of their slavery, and paid the debt, thus clearing their conscience, as far as they could, of this deep offence.

The Friends are determined advocates of immediate abolition.

*The Tourist.*

NOTE 19.—PAGE 21.

*Unfitness of Slaves for Freedom.*

The slaves are said, in a late publication, to be wholly unfit for freedom: but are not the advocates of slavery, as barbarous, as unqualified for liberty, as much in want of the schoolmaster and the divine to teach them the first principles of humanity and religion as the negroes. If the slaves were free to-morrow, could they do any thing more barbarous than to sell the whites, separate the members of families from each other, lash them with a cart-whip, and compel them to work without wages?

A missionary, who had resided many years in the West-Indies, said, he had never seen a black savage.

NOTE 20.—PAGE 22.

*Wilberforce and Napoleon.*

The following are extracts from a printed letter addressed to EARL GREY.

“I readily acknowledge the great power of my native Country; but truth and justice are still more powerful than

she is ; and neither the power of her government, nor the command of her people, can alter human nature, nor make the lowest description of African Savages, *or the children's children of these savages industrious, intelligent, and civilized in a year, or in an age* ; nor can they accomplish all or any one of these desirable objects except by the application, for a long time, of arbitrary controul amongst such a race of men."

"The colonies are, for any useful purpose, nearly lost to Great Britain ; and a short time will shew whether they are also lost to themselves, and to the rest of the world."

"Government continually leans to the anti-colonial side."

"All the measures adopted by Government are founded upon the erroneous and injurious notion, that it is impossible to be at the same time a colonist and a humane man—a colonist and a just man—or a colonist and a good man. It is impossible to conceive a state more degrading or debasing than this."

"NAPOLEON, my Lord, would not have acted thus ; nor does any nation in the world act in this manner but Great Britain ; and if she will continue to persevere in such a pernicious course, she must expect to reap the fruits of her folly, namely, severe national loss, and deep national humiliation and degradation."

"I am, &c.

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"Glasgow, October 10, 1831."

*Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, No. 187, November, 1831, Vol. 30.

Thus, according to this writer, slavery will cause national triumph and honour ! And freedom will produce deep national humiliation and degradation !

Certainly WILBERFORCE and NAPOLEON could never act on the same principles : the man who preferred truth to every thing, and the man who regarded truth as weakness, if it did not promote his purposes, and falsehood as wisdom. The

man who would sacrifice himself to benefit mankind, and the man who would have sacrificed half the human species to tyrannize over the remainder. The man who is clear sighted enough to see that God alone can exalt him, and the man who was so blind as to think, that by cunning, blood, and treachery, he could elevate himself; and consequently pursued, without deviation, the means which effected his own downfall and degradation.

It is strange that an Advocate for Slavery should name NAPOLEON as an example; for the negroes of Hayti were not deceived by his arts, they defeated him in war, and laid the foundation of their liberty on the exposure of his perfidy and the destruction of his armies.

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NOTE 21.—PAGE 25.

*Causes of Colonial Distress.*

The colonial party are much in the habit of charging all their distress upon the advocates of the abolition of the slave trade, and of the emancipation of slaves. Now, to say nothing, at present, of the oppressive monopoly which restricts their imports, we should like to ask them some plain questions about their internal management. Are the abolitionists answerable for their system of agriculture by which they persist in raising the same crop from the same ground year after year, and then wonder that the soil is exhausted? Did the abolitionists compel them to use human labour for operations which might be better performed by the labour of cattle, and thus deprive themselves of the manure which is wanted for their worn-out cane pieces? Did the abolitionists prevent them, when they had capital to spare, from laying it out on machinery, or the improvement of their agricultural

implements? Did the abolitionists teach them their old maxim, that it was cheaper to use up slaves, and buy them as they were wanted, than be at the trouble of rearing them? In the prosecution of this principle, was not the African slave market, notoriously and proverbially, the grave of West-Indian solvency? Had not embarrassment and distress begun to prevail in the Colonies, before the question of abolition was stirred? In the interval between the first proposal of the measure and its final enactment, had not a very large proportion of West-Indian estates changed masters, by foreclosures and executions? Who are authors of the system, which makes it common for a planter to take possession of an estate, upon payment of an eighth or a tenth part of the price, and mortgage the estate itself for the remainder? Can the complainants name three West-Indian properties, for which the full price has been paid at the time of purchase? Did the abolitionists create the spirit of desperate speculation, which tempts the merchant to offer, and the planter to accept, advances upon his consignments, at a rate which would be thought madness in any other traffic? Have they encouraged the sugar-growing mania, which engrosses every inch of fertile soil in the islands with an article for exportation, and leaves the colonists to import every article of consumption at an enormous cost? Have they encouraged the neglect of all internal trade and manufactures, which is such, that in St. Lucia for example, which produces abundantly the most valuable woods, Mr. JEREMIE could get his chairs and tables cheaper from England? When the abolition act was passed, did its advocates induce the planters to discountenance the marriage of slaves and the formation of families? Did they teach the colonists to cling to all the peculiarities of a forced and unnatural system, when its unnatural supply was cut off? Did they use their interest, as a body, to promote the settling and cultivation of new sugar colonies on the South American Continent, with the certainty

of underselling the produce of the old and exhausted islands? Was it their speculation to make a temporary profit, by exporting, from the old colonies, the labourers, without whom the cultivation of the new lands in Demerara and Berbice could not have been undertaken? Did they thus, in fact, renew the slave trade, not with the pretext of benefit to the old settlements, but with the certainty of raising up to them young and vigorous rivals? Not to prolong this interminable catechism of errors, do the friends of the slave encourage his master, if he can escape from the pressure of necessity, to come to reside in England, and trust the administration of his property to attorneys and managers? Do they encourage merchants, in London, to accept and foreclose mortgages, and thus become absentee proprietors, and burden themselves with all the risks of a property which they never can administer in person, and which, they know well, has ruined its former holders?

*Edinburgh Review*, April, 1832, No. CIX. Article 7.  
*Four Essays on Colonial Slavery*, by John Jeremy, Esq.  
 Pages 169, 170, 171.

### *Relief of the Distress of the West-Indians.*

“To lament the distress of the West-Indians, and at the same time to continue to subject their intercourse with America, and other foreign countries, to the existing trammels, is mere hypocritical affectation, that can deceive no one. If their ruin is to be completed, that a few thousand pounds may be put into the pockets of the ship-owners, the present system is as good as can be devised. But if it be intended to place them in a condition to withstand the competition of the planters of Brazil and Cuba, every vestige of it must be destroyed. The policy that should be adopted, is obvious and simple. It consists merely in opening the ports of the West-Indies, without distinctions of any sort, to all sorts of produce, (except sugar, rum, and coffee,) and to all sorts of ships, on

payment of the same moderate ad valorem duties. By confining the trade between Great Britain and the colonies to British ships, a material advantage will be secured to our ship-owners. By attempting to grasp at more, they will ultimately get less. When the sugar colonies are destroyed, as they will be by persisting in the present system, what will be the value of the direct trade between them and England? After repealing the restrictions on their trade, the next best thing that could be done for the relief of the West-Indians, would be to reduce the duties on sugar, and several other articles of colonial produce. This reduction, too, is required not merely by a regard to their interests, but to those of the community. Sugar occupies a very prominent place among the necessaries of life; and its cost forms an important item in the expenses of most families. And yet while the duties on the consumption of most of the great articles have been reduced from 30 to 50 per cent, and some wholly repealed, the sugar duties were kept at the war level, till last year, and since then, only reduced from 27*s.* to 24*s.* a cwt. Even this ineffectual reduction has occasioned an increase in the consumption of the half year ending 5th. of July, 1831, as compared with the half year ending 5th. of July, 1830, of no less than 303,000cwt, or 33,936,000lbs. Had Mr. GRANT's motion, in 1829, for reducing the duties on sugar to 20*s.* a cwt. been acceded to, the increase would have been much greater; though we believe, that in proposing 20*s.* Mr. GRANT gave way to the fears of those who were apprehensive of a diminution of revenue, and that he would have preferred a reduction of the duty to 16*s.* or 18*s.* By fixing the duty at 16*s.*, a very great boon would be conferred on the people of England, while it admits of demonstration that the revenue would not lose a single shilling.

A farther reduction ought also to be made of the duties on coffee. Our readers are well acquainted with the effects that have followed from the reduction of the exorbitant duties on

coffee, in 1807, and 1825 : reductions which have increased the consumption from 1,100,000lbs. a year, to above 22,000,000lbs. and the revenue from £160,000. to £600,000. still, however, the duty is 56s. a cwt. ; being equal to 100 per cent. upon the price of good coffee, and to full 150 per cent. upon the price of the inferior sorts. We have not the slightest doubt, that were the duty reduced to 28s. a cwt. or 3d. a pound, we should have a repetition of the same magical effects that have resulted from the former reductions. When principle and experience concur in showing that duties may be diminished, not only without injury, but with vast advantage to the revenue, and when the distress of the planters will be lessened, and the comforts of the public materially increased by such reductions, why should we hesitate about making them ?

It is the opinion of SIR HENRY PARNELL,—an opinion in which we wholly concur—that besides reducing the duties on sugar and coffee, those on all other articles brought from the West-Indies, with the exception of rum and molasses, ought to be entirely repealed. The loss to the revenue would be inconsiderable—the advantage to the colonies great. Cocoa is one of the most valuable productions of the West-Indians and Central America ; and Mr. HUMBOLDT calculates, that in 1806 and 1807, about 46,000,000lbs. or 23,000,000lbs. a year, were made use of on the continent. At one time plantations of cocoa abounded in Jamaica, but they have entirely disappeared from that Island, having withered, as Mr. BRYAN EDWARDS states, under ‘the *heavy hand of ministerial exaction* ;’ and unaccountable as it may seem, this pressure has not been materially abated since. At this moment, Trinidad and Grenada cocoa are worth, in bond, from 24s. to 65s. a cwt. while the duty is no less than 56s., being nearly 100 per cent. upon the finer qualities, and no less than 230 per cent. upon the inferior. The duty of £7. a cwt. on foreign cocoa is, of course, completely prohibitory.

If these duties were intended to discourage the production and consumption of cocoa, they have had the desired effect; but if they were intended to produce revenue, their failure has been signal and complete. The cocoa imported for home consumption does not, at an average, amount to 400,000lbs. a year, and the revenue is under £10,000.

On the whole, therefore, it is abundantly certain, that the distresses of the West-Indians may be effectually relieved; and that this relief may be accomplished, not only without imposing any fresh burdens on the people of England—which we should be the first to oppose—but with a material diminution of those now existing. Let the West-Indians be treated justly and impartially, let them enjoy what cannot be withheld from them without injustice and oppression—the power to supply themselves with whatever they require, in the cheapest markets; let the exorbitant duties, that now attach to articles of West-India produce brought to England, be adequately reduced; and let fixed and judicious rules be established for guiding the progress of emancipation to a safe termination. Let these things be done, and we venture to say, that the distresses of the West-Indians will speedily cease to be heard of; and while the people of England will gain by the reduction of the duties, they will also gain by the reduced expenditure that will henceforth be required for the protection and government of the islands.

If opposition is to be made to these measures, it must proceed, either directly or indirectly, from a small minority of the ship-owners and the Canada merchants; and these gentlemen would do well to recollect, that forbearance has its limits. They have achieved a pretty considerable triumph in compelling us, for their sakes, to inoculate our ships and houses with the dry-rot, and to pay £1,500,000. a year of enhanced price, for a comparatively worthless article. But though John Bull be good-natured enough to tolerate this inroad on his own pockets, we hardly think that his love of

justice will allow the same freedom to be used with the pockets of the West-Indians.

*The Edinburgh Review*, No. 108, December, 1831.  
Article 3.

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#### NOTE 22.—PAGE 27.

#### IMPROVED CULTIVATION.

##### *Sugar Cultivation.*

The slave trade having been suppressed in the Mauritius, the cultivators of sugar, in that island, found themselves obliged to give up the use of their plantations, or to cultivate them by means of the plough, and the labour of beasts of burden. They preferred the latter; and the results, collected from official documents, are worth attention by the friends of negro emancipation, when pressed with the demand of the West-Indians for compensation. In 1812, the produce of the sugar plantations, cultivated by slaves, in the Mauritius, amounted to 969,264lbs.; in 1822, soon after the plough and beasts of burden had been introduced, in consequence of the abolition of the slave trade, the quantity of sugar grown in that island, amounted to 23,463,644lbs.; and the returns for the present year, 1832, amount to 79,000,000lbs.! Should our West-India sugar-growers be driven to similar expedients for cultivating their grounds, with those adopted by their rivals in the East, in consequence of the contemplated abolition of West-India slavery, we might infer from the foregoing particulars, that the amount of compensation for their losses would not prove very onerous to the people of England.

*Bath and Cheltenham Gazette*, August, 1832.

*Opinion of an experienced Cultivator.*

“ The miseries of slavery are considerably augmented, in some of the old islands, particularly Antigua, Montserrat, Nevis, and St. Kitt’s, by the present bad system of annually planting a larger crop than they are able to properly cultivate ; the soil being much impoverished by long continued cropping, and the still greater evil of carrying off its natural covering, the voura, a dry cane trash. The planter, under the fallacious hope of keeping up the former quantity of sugar, plants every year double the number of acres that he can possibly manure, or take care of ; thus harrassing the negroes in the severe labour of turning up, or holing the land preparatory to planting, and afterwards so strictly employing the weeding gang (which usually consists of children from 8 to 14,) in keeping the grass under, and which is absolutely necessary while the canes are young.

The rattoons, which in a dry year are, or ought to be, the stand by, are nearly all sacrificed to supply the dead plants ; and those that are left are so neglected that they produce little or nothing ; the consequence of all which bad management is, that the negroes are unnecessarily overworked, and less sugar is made than would be by half the quantity of plants well put in, and the rattoons properly looked after. In addition to severe labour, the negroes are worse provided for, by the deficiency of production not enabling the planter to purchase for them the usual supply of clothing and feeding. Coppers being badly hung, though to a superficial observer but of little consequence, have, in my opinion, been the ruin of many an estate, an event in which the slave mutually participates with the proprietor, in an abridgement of most of his comforts and even necessities.” This arises from the consumption of an unnecessary quantity of fuel, consisting of a species of trash which should be left on the ground to protect it from the rays of the sun.

## NOTE 23.—PAGE 32.

*Grecian Slavery.*

Never was human nature degraded, by system, to such a degree as in the miserable Helots. Every imaginable method was taken to set them at the widest distance from their haughty masters. Even vice was commanded to them: they were compelled to drunkenness, for the purpose of exhibiting to the young Lacedæmonians the ridiculous and contemptible condition to which men are reduced by it. They were forbidden every thing manly; and they were commanded every thing humiliating, of which man is capable, while beasts are not. A cruel jealousy became indispensable in watching a body of men, far superior, in number, to all the other subjects of the state, and treated in a manner so singularly provoking indignation and resentment. Hence that abominable institution, the Cryptia. The most active and intelligent young Lacedæmonians were occasionally sent into the country, carrying provisions, and armed with a dagger. They dispersed, and generally lay concealed during the day, that they might, with more advantage, in the night execute their commission for reducing the number of the Helots, by murdering any they met, but selecting, in preference, the stoutest men, and those in whom any superiority of spirit or genius had been observed. Notwithstanding, however, these inhuman and disgraceful precautions, Lacedæmon was oftener in danger of utter subversion from its slaves, than from foreign enemies.

*The History of Greece, by William Mitford, Esq. 1829.*  
*Vol. 1. Chap. 4. Legislation of Lycurgus, pages*  
*291, 292.*

The Lacedæmonian youths, without any provocation, and merely for their amusement, we are told, murdered three

thousand slaves in one night, not only with the connivance of the law, but by its avowed permission. Such are the effects of Slavery.

### *Roman Slavery.*

JULIUS CÆSAR was certainly among *the most generous and humane of Roman Conquerors*; yet, when he had, not without difficulty, brought the people of the territory of the Town, now called Vannes, in Brittany, to *unconditional submission*, he condemned *all* of higher rank to death, and sold *the whole* remaining population to slavery.

*Mitford's History of Greece. Vol. 8. Chap. 57. Page 420. Slavery among the Ancients. Cæsar de Bell. Gal.*

VEDIUS POLLIO, in the polished age of AUGUSTUS, threw such slaves as gave him the smallest offence into his fish pond to fatten his lampreys.

### *Russian Despotism.*

The following instance of "pure despotism," is given in a work recently published, entitled, "Poland, under the dominion of Russia. By HARRO HARRING, late Cadet in the Lancer Regiment of the Grand Duke Constantine's Imperial Russian Body-Guards":—

"The officers, as well as sub-officers, of the Russian horse-guards are subject to the most rigorous discipline, and are required to execute, on horse-back, all the manœuvres of a theatrical equestrian. One day an officer of the lancer guard was going through his exercise before the Grand Duke. He had performed all the usual evolutions in the most satisfactory way, until, when at full gallop, he was suddenly ordered to turn,—his horse proved restive, and refused to obey either bridle or spur. The command was repeated in a thundering voice, and the officer renewed his efforts to make the horse

obey it; but without effect, for the fiery animal continued to prance about in defiance of his rider, who was, nevertheless, an excellent horseman. The rage of the Grand Duke had vented itself in furious imprecations, and all present trembled for the consequences. Halt! he exclaimed, and ordered a pyramid of twelve muskets, with fixed bayonets, to be erected. The order was instantly obeyed. The officer, who had by this time subdued the restiveness of his horse, was ordered to leap the pyramid—and the spirited horse bore his rider safely over it. Without an interval of delay, the officer was commanded to repeat the fearful leap, and, to the amazement of all present, the noble horse and his brave rider stood in safety on the other side of the pyramid. The Grand Duke, exasperated at finding himself thus thwarted in his barbarous purpose, repeated the order for the third time. A General, who happened to be present, now stepped forward and interceded for the pardon of the officer; observing that the horse was exhausted, and that the enforcement of the order would be to doom both horse and rider to a horrible death. This humane remonstrance was not only disregarded, but was punished by the immediate arrest of the General, who had thus presumed to rebel. The word of command was given, and horse and rider, for the third time, cleared the glittering bayonets. Rendered furious by these repeated disappointments, the Grand Duke exclaimed, for the fourth time:—"To the left about!—Forward."—The command was obeyed, and, for the fourth time, the horse leapt the pyramid, and then, with his rider, dropped down exhausted. The officer extricated himself from the saddle, and rose unhurt, but the horse had both his fore-legs broken. The countenance of the officer was deadly pale, his eyes stared wildly, and his knees shook under him. A deadly silence prevailed as he advanced to the Grand Duke, and laying his sword at his highness's feet, he thanked him, in a flattering voice, for the honour he had enjoyed in the Emperor's service. "I take

back your sword," said the Grand Duke gloomily, "and are you not aware of what may be the consequence of this undutiful conduct towards me?" The officer was sent to the guard-house. He subsequently disappeared, and no trace of him could be discovered. This scene took place at St. Petersburg, and the facts are proved by the evidence of credible eye-witnesses."

*Bath and Cheltenham Gazette.*

### *Perplexities arising from Slavery in North America.*

The black population, both free and enslaved, is rapidly increasing: the former is already about half a million—the latter upwards of two millions. This increase terrifies the slave party, and they therefore propose to transport the free black to Africa, in the hope of being able, more easily, to retain their slaves in bondage.

In the 15th. Report of the American Colonization Society, it is observed :—

"If none were drained away, slaves became inevitably and speedily redundant, &c. &c. When this stage had been reached, what course or remedy remained? Was open butchery to be resorted to, as among the Spartans with the Helots; or general emancipation and incorporation, as in South-America; or abandonment of the country by the masters?"

*Tourist.*

### *Reward of long and faithful Service, as Slaves, in Africa.*

"On our way up the river, my attention was attracted by something, of a very extraordinary appearance, hanging over the water from the branch of a tree. My curiosity was

excited by it, and I was at a loss to conjecture what it was. I did not remain long in suspense, for we soon passed sufficiently near it to enable me to discover that it was the body of one of the natives, suspended by the middle, with the feet and hands just touching the water. So barbarous a sight quickly reminded me that I was again among the poor deluded wretches of the coast, although I had seen nothing so bad as this, on my way down to the brig Thomas, in the river Nun. The natives of this place are pagans, in the most depraved condition, and know nothing of Mahomedanism, nor any other creed. They believe in a good spirit, who they imagine dwells in the water; and sacrifices, such as that just mentioned, are frequently made to him, with the idea of gaining his favour and protection. *The object selected for this purpose is generally some unfortunate old slave, who may be worn out and incapable of further service, or unfit for the market; and he is thus left to suffer death, either from the effects of the sun, or from the fangs of some hungry alligator or shark, which may chance to find the body.*"

*Lander's Journal of an Expedition to the Niger, &c.  
Vol. 3, pages 320 and 321.*

### *Sympathy with Slaves.*

MR. LANDER was crowded with some slaves in a canoe. To him, these slaves appeared not to feel a moment's regret on leaving their native country, except a female who screamed by starts during the night, and was silenced occasionally by a few hearty cuffs on the head, by one of the canoe men. This woman he calls troublesome and unsociable, and says her sorrow was assumed to disturb her associates, and give trouble to her keepers.

### *Influence of Truth and of Love on the mind of a Dapot.*

*Paul Brizzo was governor of Negropont, which he defended against the Turks, and at last surrendered on condition that his life should be spared. The Sultan, however, caused him to be sawn in two; and with his own hands cut off the head of his daughter, because she would not yield to his desires. A.D. 1469*

*Moreri*

## NOTE 24.—PAGE 33.

*West-Indian Slavery.*

“The powers which a West-Indian master has over his slave, it is impossible for the generality of masters, or managers, not to abuse. It is too great to be intrusted in the hands of men subject to human passions and infirmities. The best principles and most generous natures, are perverted by the influence of passion and habit.”

*The Bishop of Salisbury on Colonial Slavery.*

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## NOTE 25.—PAGE 37.

*Resistance of the Colonies.*

Our watch-word, at present, ought not to be conciliation, but resistance.

*A Member of the House of Assembly, in Jamaica.*

*Note 26—Page 29.*

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*“First let emancipation, and strict police arrangements, be contemporaneous. — Ample materials would be found for a police corps in the coloured class, whose services could be had*

Peuny, Printer, Frome.

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at a low rate of charge.— Avoid paying the emancipated Negroes by means of allotments of land, as those would detach them from regular daily labour; but pay them in money. At first there would be difficulties, but gradually the equitable price of labour would be ascertained, and act as the producer of regular labour. A stipendiary magistracy would be necessary, because the peculiar prejudices of the present magistracy generally unfit them for the office.— The Island would have to be divided into districts, each possessing a certain portion of the constabulary force, with a stipendiary magistrate, and a house of correction or other penitentiary.— Were the Island thus divided, and the police and magistrates properly organized, I firmly believe that emancipation might take place with perfect security.”

Evidence of W<sup>m</sup> Taylor Esq before  
a Committee of the House of Commons.

**FINIS.**



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